SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION

Situation arising out of threat to internal security of the country

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am extremely grateful to you for having allowed me to speak on a sensitive subject of internal security. The horrible experience of 26/11 is almost one year old. This is the right time for us to take stock of the situation and evaluate as to where we stand as a country, as a nation, as far as the issue of internal security is concerned. Sir, it is time to do introspection and I intend to deal with this subject in this spirit.

Sir, the incident of 21/11 has raised several important issues, and also several important questions, and only if we find honest answers to these questions, we can ever hope to avoid the menace of terrorism in an effective manner. Sir, there is little doubt that 26/11 shocked us. Suddenly we realised how vulnerable we were. Till that time, the terrorist strikes have been confined, normally, to areas which are used by the common people. Trains have been attacked; market areas have been attacked. But, somewhere, Sir, the elite of the country had felt that it is insulated against such attacks, that it is protected against these attacks. But 26/11 changed this mindset for ever because out of the many targets which the terrorists had in Mumbai, there were two Five Star Hotels, luxury hotels, situated in the posh areas of Mumbai and ten of the terrorists who had sneaked into the city through the sea route caught hold of in these two hotels and a few other places, and held a country of 120 crores to ransom for three days! Navy was pressed into service. Air Force, Army, NSG, Maharashtra Police, all the agencies were trying to combat these just ten people! And it took more than three days! Loss of several hundreds of life, property worth several hundred crores was reduced to ashes during this entire period.

Sir, there were a few questions which arose. First, Sir, is: was it possible to prevent this heinous crime against the nation? The second, Sir, is: was intelligence available with the Government and authorities about this attack? The third, Sir, is: did the Government or the administrative authorities act on that intelligence? And the fast, Sir, is: even if the intelligence was available, were the Police fully equipped and trained to deal with the situation?

Sir, as I said earlier, 21/11 shocked the nation and it had its own fallout. Many Officers were shuffled around and the Chief Minister of Maharashra, Mr. Deshmukh had to resign. Mr. R.R. Patil, the Home Minister of Maharashtra, had to put in papers, And even Mr. Patil, the Home Minister at the Centre, resigned. But, Sir, what do we find after one year? Mr. R.R. Patil is back as Home Minister of Maharashtra! Mr. Deshmukh has become a Cabinet Minister at the Centre! What message are we giving to the people of India? That there is a premium on inefficiency, that there is a

premium on incompetence, that there is a premium on the acts of omission and commission! If these people were sacked and were asked to go, obviously, they were not found equal to the task. Somewhere, the system failed. Because of their acts of omission and commission, they have allowed these incidents to take place. And what has happened in the last one year? That you have got these people back into their offices! Of course, Mr. Chidambaram continues to occupy the office of Home Minister and Mr. Shivraj Patil continues to be in the cold. But barring that, everybody else who was supposed to be responsible for this is back!

Sir, as an aftermath of this 26/11, a new agency, National Investigating Agency, was created. What has this agency achieved so far? All one sees is that they are busy in prosecuting Kasab. Now prosecuting Kasab is virtually a non-issue. You have truck load of evidence against this man. You have this agency and as it is supposed to be a specialised agency, you don't need another specialised agency to deal with an open and shut case. When this agency is here, David Coleman Headley comes to India, does Bharat darshan, comes to Delhi, goes to Mumbai and socialises with various celebrities, including film stars, and we all know that what sort of a hideous plan he had for India. But our agencies do not get a scent of it and, ultimately, it is left with the FBI to come out with his plans and inform us about his dubious plans. He was nabbed by the FBI. When I mention the FBI, I would also like to discuss the unequal relationship that India has got with the USA now. In the wake of 26/11 all the American intelligence agencies came to India. We opened a red carpet for them; we offered to cooperate with them; we offered to coordinate with them. We gave them all information; we gave them access to the accused persons. But when our team went to the USA in the wake of David Coleman Headley's arrest, what sort of treatment did they get? They kept sitting in the hotel because nobody entertained them. They were refused access to the accused persons and with the result the team had nothing to do and those of them who wanted to do some shopping–of course, they keep themselves busy in shopping – and they came back. Can any relationship be one-sided? Can any cooperation be one-sided? Cooperation and coordination can only be on a reciprocal basis. One-sided cooperation with the American Government can, at best, be termed as subservient behaviour and a country of 120 crore people and a country of India's stature cannot behave in such a subservient manner and the people of India will not tolerate it.

Sir, on 30th December last year, the Maharashtra Government had formed a high level Inquiry Committee consisting of Mr. R.D. Pradhan and Mr. Balachandran to look into this entire episode of 26/11. This Committee was an efficient Committee. It worked for more than three months and in April this year it submitted a Report.

Sir, I raised certain questions at the beginning of my submissions. I wish to revert back to those questions and the answers to those questions are to be found in the Report of this Pradhan Committee. Sir, the first question is: Was it possible to prevent this heinous crime against the nation? I would like to quote from the Report of the Committee. In paragraph No.4, it says and I quote:

"What we have found as instances of lack of intelligent appreciation of threats, handling of intelligence, maintaining high degree of efficiency in instruments specially set up to deal with terrorist attacks and certainly lack of overt and visible leadership in carrying out operations to face multi-targeted attacks. In fact, the last factor has led to public anger and resentment both against the political as well as administrative establishments."

Sir, the next question is: Was the intelligence available with the Government and the authorities about this attack? This has been a matter of debate. There have been varying versions. At one instance, in some places the Maharashtra State Government officers have said repeatedly that they had no prior information. There have been claims by some other agencies that intelligence was available with the State Government, with the authorities, but they did not act upon. Let us see what the Committee has to say about it. In para 47 (1) the Committee says, "The Committee has noted that despite receiving, as many as, six alerts between August, 2006 and April, 2008, about the likelihood of sea route by terrorists, no significant steps have been taken by the State Administration, the Government, to beef up the coastal security by having regular interaction with the Coast Guards, although the Government of India had notified on 22nd September, 2003 the Coast Guards as the lead intelligence agency for coastal sea border."

Now we know that the intelligence was available. But did the Government act on the intelligence inputs? On this, the Committee says, "The Committee found that presently all intelligence alerts are mechanically forwarded to operation units either by DGP's Office, sometimes, with the demi-official letter or the ATS or by the Home Department. The Committee found total confusion in the processing of intelligence alerts at the level of the State Government."

Was the police adequately prepared to meet the terrorist threat? This is very important because even if you have the inputs, even if the intelligence is available with you, but in case the police forces, the security forces are not adequately trained and they are not adequately equipped, they cannot meet the situation and this again has been brought out in a detailed manner by this Committee. This is what the Committee has to say. In para 32 (1), the Committee says, "Many of

the police mobile vehicles are equipped with only riot gear *lathis*, gas guns and 303 rifles which were no match to the superior fire power of the terrorists. Secondly, the police even lacked tactics of commandos to counter terrorists. The terrorists were not only well trained, but fully equipped to undertake war like operations. They were adopting the usual commando tactics of area cleaning by throwing grenades. On the other hand, the Mumbai Police did not have adequate protective gear, good bulletproof jackets or anything to withstand grenade attacks. The local police were not able to counter them as the NSG did by using grenade launchers." It further says, "The Committee finds that although these units, as constituted, are given the title of 'Assault Mobiles', these men are nothing more than armed police units who may be of use to tackle certain local law and order activities, such as gang wars or these may be more useful to deal with sudden violent attacks initially, but cannot be effective in dealing with the terrorist situation as on 26/11."

Naturally, now it is established that intelligence was available. It is established that our policemen were not prepared, they were not adequately equipped and they were not trained. But more than a year has passed. So the question arises, "Have we learnt any lessons out of this episode?"

Sir, in this respect, the Committee says: "The Committee finds that arrangements for monitoring security along the Coast continues to face several impediments. Despite some recent decisions at higher levels of the Government of India and the Government of Maharashtra, the situation at the ground level continues to be as bad as it used to be." Sir, here, the Committee has used a very stinking phrase. It says, "The Committee is of the view that the present arrangements are of a cosmetic nature. Nothing has been done in real terms to change the security situation." The observation is based on the assessment made by officers in the field who may have to face consequences of lapses, if any, in future. This must be sorted out by the Administration keeping in view the practical implementation. Sir, then, the Committee has dealt in detail as to the acquisition of arms and ammunitions by the State Police. Against the requirement of ammunitions worth about Rs.65 crores, the availability is worth only Rs.3 crores. Then, there are other details; I do not want to read the entire Report. In fact, they had asked for Rs.66.14 crores for a particular thing, but the allocation was only Rs.15 crores. A proposal, which was mooted long back in 2007, is still pending for implementation. The DGP has told the Committee that there has absolutely been no practice-shooting by the policemen ever since 2007. It further says: "With effect from December, 2006, no ammunitions have been received. Sir, there are details and details of lapses on the part of the State Government, with the result that we are in no better situation today than what we were on 26/11. Therefore, we keep hearing about the possibility of repeat attacks.

From Maharashtra, I will move to Manipur...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Punj, your party has 30 minutes. You have already taken 20 minutes. Only ten minutes are left, and there is one more speaker from your party. I leave it to you, whether you want to utilise the entire time, or, you want to finish now. Otherwise, the other speaker will not be able to participate. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA (Jharkhand): Sir, this is a very important issue...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a question of time allocation. I would not mind it if you had made it a five-hour discussion in the meeting of the Business Advisory Committee.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I am just making my submission. If you are giving him 20 minutes, would you give only four minutes to Shri Raja?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has been allotted three minutes only.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: That is my point. How can he speak in three minutes?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ahluwaliaji, I have no objection to it. But you change the rule. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA (Rajasthan): Sir, you have all the authority, while you are in the Chair...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to do justice to all and within the limited time. I have just reminded him of the time so that he can wrap it up.

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: We can sit late. That is no problem. But the country's security is most important.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us not say that anybody is undermining the country's security by regulating the time. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: The rules are there to have a good discussion, not to scuttle the discussion for paucity of time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Ahluwaliaji, you are a senior Member, and you know how the House is conducted.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I will try to concise it and try to put the things in a nutshell. But, I think, you have to be a little generous with time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I should be generous to everybody not only to you. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, from Maharashtra, I come to the State of Manipur. Sir, in the North-east, this State of 24 lakh people has virtually been living without a Government, almost in anarchy, for the last so many years. And, here in Delhi, we don't even take notice of it. Sir, it is a very serious issue. For the last ten years, Sir, in Manipur, it has not been possible for any school children either to sing the National Song, 'Jana Gana Mana' or 'Vande Mataram'. Sir, nobody can use Hindi there. Sir, for the last ten years, the Hindi news channels have been banned there. The situation is so bad, Sir, that the journalists have surrendered their accreditation cards to the State Government. All the schools and colleges, Sir, where more than four lakh students are studying, are not functioning. All these students have been sitting at home for the last four months, Sir. For the last four months, Sir, none of the schools and colleges has functioned. There is a total anarchy there. It is the Congress Government there for the last seven years. I believe, there is a former Chief Minister here, who is a Member of the House, who is the former Chief Minister, he has gone on record saying that this Government deserves to be dismissed and President's rule needs to be imposed. I believe, the hon. Home Minister had called the Chief Minister for talks here about a fortnight back. But, Sir, I find the Home Minister is very generous in rushing a team to West Bengal to assist or assess the situation, but what prevents him from sending a team to Manipur. It is because in Manipur there is Congress rule and because there has been their Chief Minister for seven years. Sir, I would like to say what sort of *

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't comment on the functioning of the Chief Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*... He cannot defend himself here.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, in 2005, the Army reported to the Union Home Minister that the * ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no; you cannot quote it here. ...*(Interruptions)*... You have to authenticate it. ...*(Interruptions)*... You authenticate and give it or it will not go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: No case was filed against the magazine.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, somebody should have filed a case against the magazine. I am sure the hon. Home Minister has taken cognisance of it, but we don't know as to what happened to the complaint which the armed forces have made against the *

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, when he talks about the Government, there is nothing wrong in it. But, he cannot invoke the name of the Chief Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*... He cannot defend himself here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Keshava Rao, I have already said that if he is producing any document here, then, please authenticate and give it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

---

* Not recorded.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, I am willing to authenticate a report of the *Outlook* magazine. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot quote from the *Outlook* magazine. ...*(Interruptions)*... You authenticate it and give it. If you allege some particular office, then you have to authenticate it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, this is not for the first time that newspapers and magazines are quoted here. He is ready to authenticate it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Several times, on the floor of the House, ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But, here he is alleging a particular person, a particular office. ...*(Interruptions)*... When you allege. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, he is quoting a report. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He cannot defend himself here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: He is quoting a report which was published in 2002. ...*(Interruptions)*... It was not contradicted either by the Government or by the Chief Minister himself or by the party. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will not give us the authority to raise it here. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let us follow certain well laid down principles.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI P. KANNAN (Puducherry): Sir, you may kindly ask him to withdraw it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: What will he withdraw? The word 'Chief Minister' is not unparliamentary. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI B.K. HARIPRASAD (Karnataka): He is accusing ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Because the receipt of that outfit is published in the newspaper/ magazine. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hariprasad, I have already given my ruling. Mr. Punj, your time is over. Please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I beg to say that you may go through all the records of the press conference which the former Chief Minister, Mr. Rishang Keishang, had held the other day where he has refuted all the allegations. He is a Congress Member of Parliament, belonging to this very House. If Mr. Keishing is here, he can deny. ...*(Interruptions)*...

AN HON. MEMBER: He is very much here. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Then you can ask him! He is keeping quiet. Ask him if he had not asked for the Presidential rule in Manipur. Had he not said that there is anarchy in Manipur?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please do not take the name of even the office unless it is authenticated. I have already given that ruling. Please refrain from naming the office. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Keshava Rao, when your turn comes, you can say that. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, since the time is short, I will move from Manipur to the problem of Naxalites. Sir, the hon. Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, on April 13, 2006, said that India is facing its single-largest insurgency in the shape of Maoists and naxalites. He has repeated the same thing in October this year. There are seven States at the moment which are under the grip of Maoist violence – Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Bihar and West Bengal. Sir, 2,000 out of 12,476 police stations spread over 223 districts are under the Maoists' influence at the moment. Out of 29 States of India, 20 States are affected by the naxalite-violence.

In 2004, Sir, more than 5,000 people have been killed in this violence. A red corridor is sought to be created between Pashupati to Tirupati. I just want to make two points here. In fact, I have got a lot to speak. Firstly, Sir, the logic that these people are fighting for social justice, that these people are trying to put forward the problems and genuine grievances of the tribals is totally absurd. I have been to Bastar, before its division into two districts. It had a larger area than the State of Kerala. All possible reasons which are supposed to generate this naxalite violence, none of those reasons exist. In Bastar, Sir, there was no tradition of any money-lenders. The presence of police was very minimal. In fact, right from the British days, there would not be any police post, that too of six people at a distance of almost 100 kms. This state was totally non-existent.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Punj, the entire 30 minutes are over. Now, whatever I am allowing you is again the grace time; you cannot ask grace for others. For others, I cannot. Please conclude.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, thank you. Sir, in short, the naxalites or Maoists have made a trade out of the poverty of the people of these tribal areas.Let me tell you it is the poor and the tribal who suffer the maximum at their hands. Now, you have the problem of Naxalites in West Bengal and West Benga! has been under the Left rule for almost 32 years. You at least cannot say that the people in

West Bengal are being subjected to capitalist exploitation in the last 32? years. You cannot take this possible stand. Therefore, you have a situation where people with ulterior motives who are financed, who are trained from abroad and who are motivated from abroad have waged a war against the State of India. Here, we have Naxalite movement in two phases. One is the underground phase and the other is the over ground phase. The over ground phase masquerades wearing the mask of human rights activists. Social activists and they provide justification, give intellectual reasons to justify the violence by Naxalites and if the Government or the State wants to move against them, then, they raise all these issues of human rights. Sir, I will just take two minutes to conclude.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: The last point I want to say is about Kashmir. We understand that there are talks going on between the hon. Home Minister and the Hurriyat leaders. We do not know what the talks are. The talks are supposed to be secret. Kashmir has been a disturbed area for the last 60 years and the Chief Minister of the State in a TV interview expressed a sort of resentment over the fact that secret parlays are being carried on by the hon. Home Minister with a separate leader and without taking the country into confidence. We expect the...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: ...Hon. Home Minister to take the country into confidence where the talks stand. Secondly, Sir, the Chief Minister in that very interview said that Kashmir was in international dispute. This is for the first time a constitutional functionary has made this sort of a statement. Normally, it is supposed to be a bilateral issue and I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether the Government of India has taken a stand on what the hon. Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir has said. Is it in line with the thinking of the Union Cabinet and in the same interview, Sir, the Chief Minister also said that his father was pressurising the Prime Minister. That is why...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Punj, if you wanted to say that you should have summarised earlier. You should plan out what points you want to say within the time limit.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, you have been so generous. Give me two more minutes and I will conclude. He has said that the father who is the hon. Minister in the Union Cabinet is pressurising the Prime Minister to enter into a dialogue with the Pakistani Government.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. I have called the next speaker.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, Just give me one minute and I will conclude. Sir, we are in a difficult situation. The Chief Minister of Kashmir is seeking to internationalise the Kashmir issue which was a bilateral issue so far and the ruling party is keeping quiet because it would not like to upset its alliance parties. Sir, In Manipur, the Congress...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Punj, you are encroaching on other's time. That is not correct. Yes, Mr. Keshav Rao.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: I am just concluding.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will then have to say, "Nothing will go on record" Otherwise that is the only weapon I can use, not to record.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, by watch you can see one minute and I will conclude.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How many times you will say, 'one minute, one minute'?

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Last one minute. Sir, in Manipur, Congress Chief Minister cuts a deal with the terrorist to stay in power. The stay is reduced to complete anarchy but you will not move an eyelid. ...*(Interruptions)*... All these issues which I raised beg an honest answer. Political considerations seem to be overriding security concerns...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Punj, your conclusion is longer than your speech. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ:...So, my humble request to the Government is that it should seriously think about national security over police. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members, I am announcing the time and request you to make your submissions within the time available to Members.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Thank you Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I seek your indulgence for the simple fact that we seem to have taken more ideological issues as well as the working of police as on today. I can understand somebody's concern for 26/11. Nobody would like to shy away from that. All of us are concerned and are really grieved. But, the obsession of connecting the entire internal security to that of 26/11 does not appeal to me. Appeal in the 'sense', again, not to be mistaken. What I am saying is, people sitting in this House, perhaps, are required or needed to focus on the entire country; as we are trying to take larger issues–Manipur–we are trying to take Naxalite and what not. Sir, we all know, when we are trying to talk of internal security, let us know that it is not the

only concern of the Government, but it is the citizens' concern, it is the people's concern. And, I also believe – as the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Home Minister are on record more than once - that unless all the parties rise above the partisan attitude and look to these issues in a broader perspective, we will not be able to come to some kind of understanding or solutions. If the internal security in this country, today, which you think is really threatened, and, which is, of course, what we need is some kind of a compromise, more than political, and also backup mechanisms created by political parties so that the Government functions well.

Sir, I am not indulging in some kind of 'one-up-man-ship' here. I understand. I welcome Punj*ji*, a respectable Member of this House, who said, 'After all, in Mumbay, a few people had to resign because of the incident and again they are rehabilitated. He then asks, 'What kind of a policy is this? What kind of a message that you are giving?' I don't know. I would really ask myself. But, the moment I asked my conscience, my conscience told me that when somebody attacked the Parliament, nobody resigned in this country. When somebody attacked Akshardham, nobody resigned in this country. When somebody attacked some other place, nobody resigned in this country, then why this hypocrisy. Sir, I will come to naxalites later, because you are so much worried about naxalites. I don't know where did he see this naxalism. You might have seen only Bastar ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, let me allow for one second. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Punj, please sit down ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, he is referring to me. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, I am not yielding. ...*(Interruptions)*... I feel. Punj*ji*, I know more about naxalites, forest areas and terrain than you. So, let us not talk about what exactly is going on in the forests and their conditions. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT : (West Bengal): How, Sir? Has he got some contacts?

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: It is all right. ...*(Interruptions)*...So what? ...*(Interruptions)*... Let Karat not be surprised. ...*(Interruptions)*... Let Mrs. Karat not be surprised if somebody makes some comments ...*(Interruptions)*... All right.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Mr. Home Minister, you better appoint him as an interlocutor in the naxalites-affected areas. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, I am now talking about the social justice issues. You listen. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI B.K. HARIPRASAD: Knowing terrain and knowing naxalites is entirely different. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, it is good. It is all right. The question is: we have other issues which really bother us. We also understand. When we talk about internal security, our minds immediately go to cross-border terrorism. We understand that we are living with that. Unless there is a peace-loving neighbour, we have these kinds of problems. During our pre-Independence days, we had hostile enemies which used to create this kind of problem. But, things have changed today. The external forces are acting through the mechanisms which are available in the internal areas. I think, we are trying to brazen ourselves up to see that we control it. Today, I am not carrying or holding a brief for the hon. Minister here, because he has his own apparatus and after the Mumbai blasts we have the NIA agency. All these help for immediate and positive response to any happenings.

I am not saying that IB is the best or the RAW is the best or the NAG is the best today. But, nonetheless, they do operate in a real situation, because, you know, terrorists give us short time to talk. They go on changing the targets. We are not aware of what may happen tomorrow. Now, Sir, this is the situation. But when we talk of internal security, it is not only cross-border terrorism, it is not only Manipur that we talk of, it is not only illegal immigrants from Bangladesh that we talk of, but there are two greater issues – the communal and parochial. These also pose some kind of a security threat to the secular fabric of this country. These also need to be taken up. The third angle is about the economic aspect. We seldom talk about it. In a free market economy, unless the economics is socially controlled, unless they are monitored, unless these things come to terms with, the kind of security problem that we have, perhaps, cannot be seen and codified and can't be seen in one line and second line, these things need to be looked into. So, today, cyber threat, ethnic problems, economic problems, communal problems, and cross-border terrorism problems, exist and the are all one.

Having gone over all these issues, I shall now come to the issue of naxalism. Today, I am trying to devote much time to this for the very simple reason that both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister have said – and all of us agree with their perception – that the greatest threat to the internal security of this country is naxalism. We all seem to agree on this, but we have been saying this for the last forty years. What have we done?

This morning the MoS (Home) talked about the economic exploitation of the tribal. He told us that the Naxal leaders were taking advantage of this, exploiting them and expressing their revolt. But, then, he said in his reply that roads were being built, funds were being sent and armed forces and the

police were being modernised. That is not the answer to the three basic issues that the hon. Minister has rightly identified. Today, even after 30 or 40 years, they are still thinking. We have holding talks with Naxals. Unfortunately the Union Home Ministry does not know what kind of talks in Andhra Pradesh were held, what kind of an agenda was put before us by them and how we tackled that. It is the Home Ministry's report that says that 70 per cent of the naxalite menace has come down A.P. I don't think that naxalism has ended in Andhra Pradesh. We don't think so.

We held talks with them for four days. They could give us an agenda saying land should belong to the tiller. This was our agenda, and not naxalites' agenda. Let the naxalites' friends know about it. It was Gandhiji, who said in 1942 that the only agenda for independent India would be 'land should belong to the tiller'. Nobody should hijack it. We are committed to it. But we have not implemented it fully. We are not being truthful to ourselves. ...*(Interruptions)*... Laughter will not help. This country has seen people laughing like you and talking like you. We have been talking about this for the last sixty years. What has happened in West Bengal? Our friends have been there for 32 years. Have you seen the condition of Purulia? Have you seen the condition of Lalgarh? I have been there. I know that place. ...*(Interruptions)*... What we try to do is, we try to be friends.

And, at the same time, what is the tribals' position in Northern West Bengal? What is the condition of tea gardens in Gorkhaland? We know these things. But how do we handle those problems? How do we address this question today? It is not that we do not intend to do that. But we need to fight the system, today, a system that has not understood the tribals, a system that has not understood the sentiments of adivasis. What is the position in Jharkhand? Even today, of the 30 per cent of adivasis in Jharkhand, 25 per cent are half-clothed and half-bed. In one village, a single saree is shared by seven people. I asked them; I did not believe it, but it turned out to be true. Would you change it? We have many schemes. It is not that it cannot be done. When Indiraji came, the war on poverty was launched. But are these programmes reaching those places? Are tho politicians doing their job? Have the politicians talked to them about their right? All of us come here in the name of this janata or the people whom we have not seen. At least 50 per cent of the seven per cent Scheduled Tribe people live in places which are not reachable. You cannot walk 14 kilometers up the hill to reach them. These are the conditions of the terrain. What the Government needs to do is to understand them. So, when somebody goes and champions them, we need to understand his intentions. I know, violence has no place in democracy at all or in any society, whether it is democracy or no democracy. Violence has no place. Violence is no answer to anything – be it the State violence or the private violence.

I will start with the private violence because the State is not interested in creating violence. We would tell them as we told the Naxalite friends who came over for talks. The Government only protects. Now, the Government is interested in starting the talks. So, the question is how do we start? Let us not delay. We have understood that it is a socio-economic problem. But, whenever a question is asked in this House about the Naxalite problem, the immediate answer from the Minister is "that such and such amount has been spent for modernization of police and arms. With such and such amount, so many new battalions have been created. With such and such amount, new platoons have been sent." This is not our approach. What kind of development has been done in that remote area? Is there any marketing facility? The Ministry of Rural Development is there. Is the Ministry of Rural Development coordinating with the Ministry of Home Affairs? What if you push me to a corner and yet want that I should not even agitate, shout, and when I do; you say that 1 am not a good citizen. If I come and give you a memorandum and tell you to look at it, you would look at it and say, "I will look at it tomorrow." But when I use some violent methods, you immediately attend to. Sir, tell me, is there anybody here who has not used violence in small or big measure? About 2,000 people are reported to have died in the last 40 years. I know it is very bad, but, at the same time, see the kind of focus we are trying to give. We can sort out this problem. Having said all this, what I am trying to say is this. I am convinced that even if we solve all the problems raised by Maoists – of the land, of their wages, of the social conditions – I do not think that they are going to close their shops. Maoist activities will continue. It is a political party now. That is the danger. Today, the danger stemming from the Maoist activities is that they are no more a movement. What they started as a social movement for the poor people, asking for social justice, has turned into a political one. They have forgotten their movement. Not only have they forgotten this, but they have also exploited this. When the Naxalite talks failed, I went on a *padyatra* into forests. In one place I went along with the hon. Member who is sitting here. We went to Maoist areas. We met them.

In the tribal areas, exploitation continues. Tribals pick up seeds, which is bought by their cooperatives for Rs.6/- and sold for Rs.68 plains. What is given to the producer? For the forest dweller, it is Rs.6/-. This has been going on for the last 60 years. It is not that no Minister talked about it. We all have talked about it. We have talked of laws, we have talked of plans, we have approved programmes, but what is happening? What is their condition for years, we need to understand that? So, simply saying that we will be able to tackle it, which you could not do for the last forty years, is not sufficient. You cannot do it in the same method. So, a new approach is required. I am very happy that this morning the Minister spoke of multi-pronged approach. That is good. Its implementation is not the sole domain of the Government, but it is the duty of all the political parties.

3.00 P.M.

I would rather suggest we need a three-pronged approach to tackle it. Number one is, developmental approach to which the Home Minister agreed. There is a need for remote area development. Development is not limited simply to a town. A 50-storeyed building in Delhi becoming a 152-storeyed does not mean development. But we feel happy because we can see it in the New York Times or somewhere. By investing some crores in Hyderabad and calling it development is not real development. That is not development.

There may be a development programme with you and you may be giving land to them, but what would they do with the rocky land unless you give some kind of money to them to put it to use? So, remote area development should differ from place to place, from area to area. That is why we have said this morning when a question was asked: Is it local-oriented or Centre-oriented? The Centre can give them aid but development is local-oriented. So, under the local leadership, we should take up the responsibility to see what is necessary there. They are trying to win over the people who are exploited for years, for centuries. These *Adivasi* people who are sons of the soil actually don't have the soil. Ahluwaliaji comes from Jharkhand. In Jharkhand, they give land; the forest rights are there. But what happens? The moment I plough, I find, down below the land, coal or minerals; that belong to the Centre! They do not belong to me. I can only enjoy as long as I plough the land. Otherwise, I am not the owner of the assets that the land contains.

Now, for the first time, this Government have come out with a scheme where there will be minimum displacements. We give them the rights and if you want to exploit them, if the licence is given, you must make them stakeholders in the new assets that are created. Now, I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister to what we did in Andhra. We created 17,000 new jobs for the tribals. After all, it is unemployment, it is poverty, it is social exploitation which is the main cause. There is cry for social justice. Sir, it is not necessary that only money-lenders exploit people. I don't know much about the traditional money lending business in Bastar. But the land ownership, the way the land is held, the way the produce is enjoyed, is the question. Then, from the power of the land comes the strength to exploit the poor. That has to be looked into. So, if they are looking at it, let us have a developmental approach which tackles all these.

The second thing is, you must have talks with them. Why is there a need for talks? I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Home Minister once again to it. Why we are shouting 'talks, talks and talks' is only to tell the area people, local people, villagers that we in the Government, are prepared to do everything for them ; But their friends, who are trying to withees champion your

cause, those who are with us in the talks, though agree, don't allow it to reach you. Therefore, it is somebody else and not you who is responsible for it. Our intentions are very clear. So, the moment the talks are started, the entire population of the tribal areas, the rural areas, the remote areas start looking at us. They would like to see what exactly is happening in Hyderabad or in Delhi. When they look, they look with a very keen interest to find out your intentions and I know that our intentions are so clean, so noble, so honourable and so laudable that whatever we do we do to help them. But the only thing is, they must know about it. There is a need of creating this kind of a perception in those people that here is a Government which is prepared to stand by them. So, the importance of talks is only because of that.

But, at the same time, as a Government in place, as a Government of the day, you can't shy away from your responsibilities. The law must take its own course. But one need not go on 'shouting' on that. Whenever there is the Naxalite problem, you say Police has been modernized. Wherever the Naxalite issue comes, you say we have sent 20 battalions. You do it. It is your job to send it. You are trying to ensure peace. It is your job to ensure peace. Why do you try to scare not only the Naxalite but the poor people by talking of these arms and police? You are after Naxalites who number only 20, 40 or 60, have been the cause of suffering to 5000 people in the village. It is about 4000 or 5000 of poor people in the village who think that your guns are directed towards them, the shots can go anywhere! That mindset should go. That is why, I said, when you talk, it is only to give them the impression that the law will take its own course, that the Government will be firm and that they will not allow any kind of violence, be it from this side or that side. That should be done. You said that there are two faces of naxalism; one is that of human rights activists and the other, that of naxalites.

The human rights activist thinks that any person who is born has a right to live. If their activities are directed at helping insurgency, it must be condemned. You have yourself said that they are intellectually using their minds to motivate others. Let me tell you, if they are doing it intellectually, then you need to convince them intellectually saying that their over-activism or over-enthusiasm is perhaps coming in the way of handling a particular situation. They are reasonable. They would sit with you. In Andhra Pradesh, when some people came over for talks, we said – Please, no more talking; since all of us are in one group, please see to it that we do not champion any cause for some time to come. When we talk of moratorium, moratorium is not only on violence; it is a moratorium on arms and even on championing each other's cause. These could be delicately and very intricately understood and sorted out. So, we need a three-pronged approach to tackle them; you talked of a multi-pronged approach.

Sir, I now come to Manipur. I do not say that everybody has the right to say just anything but this is a multi-cultural nation. We need to build it. When we gave ourselves a Constitution, it was with a pledge that we shall make them all one. I don't have a magic wand in my hand, nor an electric switch that when put on, can give us light. Although it is not there in the Constitution, we try to evolve and start a political system that allows such units. It is the political parties of this country that must take up responsibility. You think that law can do everything. What can law do, Sir? At best, House can pass legislation. Let us say, we have a social legislation banning dowry; do you think the legislation has succeeded in banning dowry? No! At best, it gives legitimacy to a public action. Legislation only gives legitimacy to a public action done for social good. It is the society that responds. It is the people in the society who need to put pressure. So, unless there is public pressure and also governmental backing, that is, unless both the State and people act together, whether it is the matter of internal security or naxalism, we shall not succeed. I think, threat to internal security having become one of the greatest threat to us, it requires all people's cooperation, all parties' cooperation and a non-partisan approach. I understand the Home Minister has somewhere spoken of recommendations about police; one hon. Member had referred to the Police saying that more than 500 recommendations are still pending with the Home Ministry. I do not know what is happening; it has been there since Mr. Sorabjee's Committee and how time to Mr. Pradhan's report.

Sir, I always listen to the Home Minister with keen interest. Everytime he comes up with some very valuable recommendations and inputs. If all these can be really compiled together into some kind of a package, with this packaging, we can respond to the changing needs and become flexible in our approach but firm in our hearts and inclusive in our actions. If that is done, I think internal security can be taken up. I do not mean to say it is that simple an issue where we only talk; we have been talking about it for the last six years. We have been talking about it for 40 years but more seriously over the last five or six years. What is required is action by the Government and cooperation by the people.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY (West Bengal): Sir, I begin by making a request to you. After the learned words of wisdom by my learned friend, Dr. Keshava Rao, you have to give me extra time to steer the discussion back to the issue and also to wake up a number of people who have lulled into sleep. So, I require extra time and I hope you will give me extra time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sure, you can do it in ten minutes.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, on this issue of terrorism, to my mind, I recollect the powerful words of Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore when he returned his Knighthood after the Jalianwala

massacre. He had said these words, which I think, are the powerful expressions of our anger and anguish at this menace of terrorism. Rabindranath Tagore said, "Give me a voice of thunder, That I may hurl imprecations upon this cannibal, Whose gruesome hunger, Spares neither the mother nor the child." It is this menace of terrorism which is anti-national, anti-human which neither spares the mother nor the child and is something for which, at least, I and my party have zero tolerance. Therefore, to fight against terrorism there can be no compromise and the struggle against terrorism is non-negotiable. Having said this point, we have to recognise the Indian reality also that terrorism in India cannot be categorised into any compartment. Neither is it something that has some boundaries nor some religious delineation. We have in our country lost the Mahatma to the bullets of a religious fanatic; we have lost a sitting Prime Minister to the bullets of a Sikh fanatic; we have lost a former Prime Minister, who was contesting those elections, to the bullets of the LTTE assassins. We are losing today everyday scores of people, hundreds of people in the North-East because of various insurgent groups that are operating. We have had a situation in our country where we have to combat terrorism of fundamentalism of all sorts of religious hues. You also had *Hindutva* terror that has to be combated. You have this situation in the country and, therefore, we cannot label terrorism as belonging to any one particular religion, to one particular group or to one particular region. Any attempt to communalise or politicalise the fight against terrorism will only undermine our resolve to get rid of this menace. While we have to tackle cross-border terrorism, we have to tackle internal factors that give rise to terrorism and we have to tackle also, what Dr. Keshava Rao had also mentioned right now, the conditions that give rise to another variety of terrorism. The Prime Minister has said that the single largest menace to India's internal security is the Maoist violence. Now, if this has to be tackled, Sir, there are two premises that, I think, all of us must unequivocally accept. The first is to create an atmosphere that does not breed the growth of such terrorism. You cannot have a situation like you had during the anti-Sikh riots; you cannot have a situation like you have during anti-Muslim programs; you cannot have situations like you have during anti-Christian attacks and the more you have such situations, the more we are feeding these terrorists' activities to grow. Now, that is something that all of us should, if we are serious about our fight against terrorism, resolve to abjure. Otherwise, terrorism in our country with such diversity cannot be gotten rid of. The second important thing, which also my friend Dr. Keshava Rao referred to, is the question of growing economic inequalities. Yes, that is a breeding ground for terror. Today you are in a situation whereas we always pointed out that two India are in the making. We have the largest number of billionaires in Asia on the one hand; people spending Rs.4000 crore to build private houses and you have 77 per cent of India that cannot live even on Rs.20 a day. If this sort of economic inequality is widened which

are widening, then you are laying a fertile basis for the growth of such activities like terrorism which we cannot afford. So, inclusive growth is a necessity for us if you want to combat terrorism. So, create an atmosphere that does not divide our people in the name of religion or in the name of anything else and create an atmosphere that includes everybody in the growth process. These are two conditions. If we want to combat terrorism and if we want to re-underiine our resolve to combat terrorism, then this is the first thing that we will have to do. Then we would like to add the third element where the State will also have to show a certain degree of vigilance that State persecution does not lead to people being thrown into the arms of terrorists. You have seen such encounter deaths earlier. You have seen the Sohrabuddin case, you have seen the Ishrat Jahan case, and, you have seen all the instances where you are pushing certain people to take up these sorts of methods out of frustration. That also cannot be allowed.

Therefore, the issue of maintaining a direction, which does not divide our people on communal, religious, castiest, or, whatever grounds; the issue of having 'inclusive growth', including all people in the development process, and, the issue of State taking necessary measures not to push people through persecution into this path, are three issues that need to be underlined. Once we recognize this, we come to the question where all of us have paid our homage to those who lost their lives in the terrorist attacks, more particularly, on the anniversary of the attacks of 26/11, and, people who are losing their lives because of such activities of such groups everywhere else.

After 26/11, we have enacted two new laws in this very House, and, these two new laws were to strengthen the arms of the State in order to pursue terrorists after the terrorist activity has taken place. At that time, we were promised a relook at these Acts with regard to the federal issue connected with the Centre-State relations. That has not happened. I wish that the Government will adhere to its promise and come back on those issues with its experience of the last one year. That, however, is a different matter, Sir. But the point that I wish to raise here is that these laws have been brought into place to tackle the terrorist after the terrorist attacks. What we are interested in is tackling it before terrorist attacks and prevent the terrorist activities from taking place. There is a lot that was discussed but very little has been done. What is the degree of coordination that has been there since 26/11 amongst various arms of the State intelligence? You have the Central Intelligence, you have the State Intelligence, you have the Military intelligence and you have various arms of this intelligence, what is the coordination amongst them that is taking place. You have various patrols.

We have discussed a lot about the coastal patrol and the inadequacies of it. That is an issue on which nothing substantial has happened. You still have an awful situation. I say it 'awful' because your police today acts under the antiquated Police Act of 1861, which was brought into force in order to tackle the 'natives', as the British called. But you do not have any further modern law.

The United Nations stipulates that for one lakh population, at least, 222 police men should be there. In our country, the sanctioned strength is 145 policemen per lakh and the actual strength is 117 policemen per lakh. Unless you take measures in all these areas, the entire question of resolve against terrorism cannot be implemented in practice. It is not rhetoric. The resolve against terrorism has to result in concrete action, and, I think, there, a lot has been found wanting. I hope the Government, at least, on the occasion of the anniversary of 26/11 attacks, will take these matters seriously and ensure that even the declared recruitment in all these areas of protecting India's security is actually done.

Sir, much discussion has taken place on – as I said, I will return to the point – the question of growing Maois violence. I wish to quote a few sentences from the speech of the hon. Prime Minister made at the Chief Ministers' Conference on Internal Security held in August this year. He said, "Left Wing Extremism is a serious challenge. I would like to emphasize the growing intensity of the problem. There have been heavy casualties inflicted recently on security forces by Naxalite groups. There are also indications of yet more offensive action by these groups. The problem of Left Wing extremism is indeed a complex one. There is a need for a balanced and nuanced strategy to deal with it. On the one hand, the State should discharge its responsibilities and obligations and re-establish the rule of law in areas dominated by the Naxalites. At the same time, we should work towards removing the causes which lead to alienation of people and problems like Naxalism."

The Prime Minister has outlined a dual approach. The law and order issue and tackling the problems that give rise to such manifestations like Naxalism, and, in his own speech, he appends it with statistics. The Prime Minister has informed the country that in the calendar year, 2009, and, as per data available till 16th November, out of a total of 1979 lives lost in the country, 873 have been due to Maoist violence. That is an overwhelming majority of the people lost their lives because of Maoist violence. In fact, if you look at all the categories that he has given, this is the single biggest danger to our internal security. This is established by this data, Sir. Now, once this is accepted, what the Prime Minister has said, if he accepts this fact, and it is a fact, then, the resolve in the country should be to unitedly face this menace. Instead if you try to politicise it, like you try to politicise any other issue of

terrorist attack, then, I think, we will only be cutting the branch on which we are sitting. The reason why we say this, Sir, I have heard just now that for 32 years we have been in power in Bengal. So, why have the Naxalites come? Anyway, I am grateful to my friend, Keshava Rao. He is an expert on Naxalites and he has held a lot of discussions with them. Maybe, that is the reason why he has been appointed observer for West Bengal by the Congress Party. ...*(Interruptions)*... That apart, Sir ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think in another two-three minutes you should conclude.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: No, no, Sir. I asked you in the beginning itself. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, that is why I requested that this is a very sensitive issue. Give them time. Then only our Home Minister will come to know.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI BRINDA KARAT: Let him conclude, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I am beseeching you. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay, I am just giving cautioning you.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I know, you are on record to appreciate the fact that I have always spoken within the time. It is on the record of the House. And, if I transgress that, there is a reason for that. I request you to please accept that reason. Now, Sir, this morning a school teacher belonging to our party has been butchered in front of his class, in front of the students by the Maoists. We have lost 130 of our cadre in these attacks by the Maoists since the General Elections have been over. Therefore, it is with full pain and anguish I am speaking. Therefore, I request you to allow me to, at least, complete, and I shall be very brief. I do not wish to digress on that issue. Often the charges have been made that the Maoist and the CPM are cousins and that we have woken up belatedly now to Maoists violence. I think people should recollect the history, Sir.

श्री रघुनन्दन शर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : इलज़ाम नहीं, यह तो सच्चाई है ...**(व्यवधान)**... यह तो सच्चाई है।

श्री सीताराम येचुरी : सुनिये न। आपको अगर चाहिए तो मैं हिन्दी में ही बोलूंगा या मैं अपनी भाषा बंगाली या तेलुगु में बोलता हूं, आप समझने की कोशिश कीजिए।

Sir, in 1967 the word 'Naxalite' came from a village called Naxalbari in Bengal which is still there. An armed uprising in Naxalbari, from where the word 'Naxalite' comes, took place in 1967 by a band of people who left our party CPI(M) and later formed CPI(ML). They deserted us and took a

different line arguing against us saying that we are legitimizing bourgeois democracy. While we were bringing Left into democratic mainstream, those who wanted to keep the Left out of democratic mainstream in the trap of anarchy and violence, and while we were strengthening democratic process, they were disrupting that, and because we were legitimizing so-called bourgeois democracy, we were the principal targets of these Naxalites since then. We have lost thousands of our comrades in the attacks by them. There is no other political party that has lost more people to the Naxalite attacks than our party, and that is all across the country not only in Bengal. In Andhra Pradesh, there was a literal three-way split in the Communist movement. So, our antagonism with the Naxalites or what is today Maoists stems from this very basis of their formation in the 1960s which we believe was on the basis of an erroneous ideological understanding. And, this ideological combating we have been doing, we will continue to do. We have suffered the most, and, therefore, to now brand us as some sort of a cousin who have woken up late is actually a travesty of history, is a travesty of the truth.

Then, Sir, today the main point that we have to understand is how after 32 years have the Naxals re-entered Bengal, I heard our friend, Keshava Rao, talking about actual problems of the land, problems of people. He confessed and I am grateful to him for having confessed that though the Congress raised the slogan of land reforms, they never implemented it and that is why Naxalism has grown. He has actually admitted it on record. I am grateful on that point. The point is that after 32 years, and when after all the land reforms were implemented, how did they stage a re-entry? The only State in the country where land reforms have been implemented to the maximum extent possible is West Bengal. And only three other States are in the country where land reforms have been implemented. They are; West Bengal, Kerala, and Jammu and Kashmir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Karnataka also, ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: But not to that extent. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRIMATI VIPLOVE THAKUR (Himachal Pradesh): Himachal Pradesh also. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Mr. Yechury, please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us not quarrel. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI B.K. HARIPRASAD: Sir, in Karnataka. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I am talking about the land reforms where land was given to tillers, not to mine owners. ...*(Interruptions)*... Not like what is happening in Karnataka. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am talking about land to tillers. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, let us not entangle into land reforms. ...*(Interruptions)*... No.

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Mr. Yechury, please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Keshava Rao, let us not do it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, I am not entering into it. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am only trying to correct the record. ...*(Interruptions)*... What I said was not land reforms. ...*(Interruptions)*... What I said was that land reforms not implemented in the fashion we wanted. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Keshava Rao, it is not necessary for every Member to give explanation for each other. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is not permissible. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is not permissible. ...*(Interruptions)*... You cannot get up and start explaining. ...*(Interruptions)*... What should the Chair do? ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. K. KESHAVA RAO: Sir, he said that is why I am saying. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then you take my permission and say. ...*(Interruptions)*... Unless I give permission, you cannot start speaking. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, minus this interruption from my time. Please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. Please don't indulge into it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Why is it? And the hon. Minister is here. How have they come into Bengal now? And that is the important point to note. It is not that they have come into Bengal because of the objective conditions there. They have been brought and imported into Bengal. They have been imported into Bengal and I will tell you how. They have been imported into Bengal by an ally of yours today in your Government. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is a fact. Sir, he provoked me.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Yechury, you are entering into a different zone. Then your time. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Then protect me. Don't let them provoke me. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, that was a response to that provocation. ...*(Interruptions)*... They cannot provoke me. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will not get provoked. You are such an experienced person. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I told you that it is such a sensitive issue where we are losing our people every day. That is why. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI P. KANNAN: Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, Mr. Kannan. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I will let you know. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, here is a statement. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am sorry for that. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am not falling into provocation. ...*(Interruptions)*... But they have raised the issue of Nandigram. They have raised all these issues. Here is a statement given by the head of the Maoists' Nandigram Zonal Committee. He is telling the leader of the Trinamul Congress. I quote, "You, * ."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't take the name. Delete it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: No name. ...*(Interruptions)*... Delete that, Sir. Please delete it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have deleted it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: "You had said at a rally at Sonachura recently that it was the CPM who brought us to Nandigram in 2007 and provided us with safe passage to flee. You know it is a lie." This is said by the Maoists' Chief of the Nandigram Zonal Committee. Then he says. ...*(Interruptions)*... I authenticate it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will not allow the papers to be laid on the Table of the House. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: It goes on to give you the details of how hon. Members of Parliament of a certain party have attended meetings jointly with the Maoists in that particular place and spoken together with them. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Should I give you time for this inter-party discussion? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I am being provoked. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, Mr. Yechury. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I am on a point of order. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि (उड़ीसा) : वह दूसरे हाउस से मंत्री हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Is he a Member of this House, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no; he is a Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*... He is a Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*... He is a Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*...

---

*Not recorded.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Okay, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM (SHRI SULTAN AHMED): Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Sitaramji, I think, for the first time I am seeing that they are provoking and you are getting provoked and, then, you are reacting!

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: What can I do, Sir, when they are doing so?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have not given you time for this purpose. ...*(Interruptions)*... I want that the House should benefit from your viewpoints. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I am coming to it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, the point is that ...*(Interruptions)*... Here, I want to make two fundamental points on this and leave. It is not an acrimony. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, if the hon. Members of this House want to interrupt me, I am willingly willing to accept it, but I would only, through you, appeal, please request restraint from the others, from the hon. Minister also. ...*(Interruptions)*... not to interrupt ...*(Interruptions)*... not to interrupt. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please? conclude now.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, the point at issue is that you had a situation where the Prime Minister of this country, the Home Minister of this country – hon. Home Minister of this country is here – had gone on record a number of times saying – I have shown you through the figures- that the single largest threat to India's internal security is the Maoist menace. Now, we, as a whole, unitedly should face this menace. Now, I would like to know, Sir – and this is where I want to bring in – I know you are a little impatient and ask me to end.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no; I am not impatient. It is relevant. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have to conclude the debate! ...*(Interruptions)*..

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I would want this august House and the country to remember that there were occasions when we created our own Frankenstein that had consumed our own leaders. The country has suffered, and more importantly, the Congress Party has suffered. You had the Dal Khalsa; you had Bhindranwale; you had the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi. You had the IPKF; you had the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Don't create Frankensteins. For the sake of remaining in power, do not patronise people ...*(Interruptions)*... do not patronise people who are encouraging the Maoists in our country today. ...*(Interruptions)*... This is the point, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*... Therefore, what we are saying is, you have today. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: One second, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have not completed it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no; you have to concude now.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I am concluding, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*... So, I am only making an appeal to this Government that with our own experience of the past, let us not create new Frankensteins. You have been given the mandate to rule for five years. You have no problems of wanting to create such Frankensteins because you wanted to rule. You have that mandate. But even then, why are you adopting this approach whereby the resolve to fight against the Maoists is being compromised and undermined by having a partner who is patronising and protecting them! ...*(Interruptions)*... That is the point. ...*(Interruptions)*... That is the point, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay. Please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*... ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Final sentence, Sir, ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please sit down. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please conclude.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Therefore, Sir, I am appealing... ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I am concluding. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I am seeking your protection.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You please conclude. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am also appealing to you to please conclude.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I want your protection. ...*(Interruptions)*...

How can you have a Minister in the Cabinet, not a Member of this House, intervening and disturbing the proceedings like this?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Rules are there. He can take part. ...*(Interruptions)*... No, no; he can take part. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please not be mistaken. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Give me the ruling, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He can take part. ...*(Interruptions)*... He can take part. The rules are there. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: He cannot discuss it. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is nothing wrong in that. ...*(Interruptions)*... For your benefit ...*(Interruptions)*... For your benefit I tell you: "Every Minister and Attorney General of India shall have the right to speak in, and otherwise to take part in the proceedings of..."

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: On the issue?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: In the proceedings. ...*(Interruptions)*... In the proceedings. ...*(Interruptions)*... This is the rule.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Okay.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: After knowing the rules, I am only allowing.

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Thank you, Sir. ...*(Interruptions)*... One second. ...*(Interruptions)*... I have known that this has gone on record. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is the use of your disturbing if nothing is going on record. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: I stand corrected, ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I am only saying... ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: For the first time I am seeing. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I stand corrected. ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, you have given the right to the Minister to interrupt me. Therefore, I stand corrected. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The rules have given the right; I have not given the right. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SITARAM YECHURY: Sir, I am concluding. Finally, my appeal to all the political parties, to everybody here is, let us not be partisan on this issue; neither communalise it nor politicise it. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am saying that let us fight it unitedly. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am asking the Home Minister, when he responds, to reflect the united will of the country and not politicise it. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Brij Bhushan Tiwari now.

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि : सीताराम जी, सिलीगुड़ी में क्या हुआ?

श्री सीताराम येचुरी : जो आपने मालदा में किया।

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि : हम तो माइनर पार्टी हैं। आप रूलिंग पार्टी होते हुए भी ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री उपसभापति : पाणि जी, अब आप छोड़िए। ....(व्यवधान)...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Sir, I would like to have just one clarification. When we are speaking here, we cannot refer to any Member of the other House. But, you are allowing him to intervene in the debate, Sir! ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI B.K. HARIPRASAD: He is a Minister. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He can participate in the proceedings. There is a rule allowing that. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: He is a Member of the other House; he is coming here and participating in the debate! ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Vijayaraghavan and Mr. Hariprasad, why are you disturbing? ...*(Interruptions)*... Mr. Brij Bhushan Tiwari, now.

श्री बृजभूषण तिवारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, आज हम बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण विषय, आंतरिक सुरक्षा पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। इधर अपराध, संगठित अपराध, नक्सली हिंसा और आतंकवाद की घटनाओं ने देश की सुरक्षा और देश की एकता को खतरे में डाल दिया है। यहां पर माननीय सदस्यों ने इसके कई आयामों के संबंध में चर्चा की है। अभी एक विचार आया कि हमें इससे सख्ती से निपटना चाहिए। हम यह देखते हैं - जो तजुर्बे में है, अनुभव में है - कि जब कोई घटना घट जाती है, चाहे नक्सली हिंसा हो या आतंकवादी घटना हो, उस घटना के घटने के बाद जो हमारे सारे प्रयास होते हैं वे अगले बचाव के प्रयास होते हैं। परन्तु यह भी देखने में आया कि जब तक हम बचाव के प्रयास करें, तब तक जो आतंकवादी गुट हैं, वे नयी तकनीक और नए स्थान का चयन करके फिर से कोई कार्रवाई कर देते हैं। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि आखिर कारण क्या है? बार-बार इस पर चर्चा होती है कि हम आतंकवाद से या नक्सली हिंसा से निपटने में सक्षम हैं लेकिन जो रिपोर्ट आती है, कमेटियों की जो संस्तुतियां आती हैं, उनको देखने से लगता है कि एक तो पुलिस बल में हमें उनको जो सुविधा प्रदान करनी चाहिए, जो टेक्नोलॉजी प्रदान करनी चाहिए, जो हथियार प्रदान करने चाहिए, जो आधुनिक उपकरण उन्हें देने चाहिए, वे भी हम उन्हें नहीं दे पाते। दूसरे इस प्रकार की भी जानकारियां आती हैं कि जो सामान उनको उपलब्ध कराया भी जाता है, वह भी भ्रष्टाचार के कारण अच्छी किस्म का, अच्छी क्वालिटी का उपकरण या सामान नही होता। अभी मुम्बई की घटना के बारे में ही यह रिपोर्ट पढ़ने को मिली कि जो बुलेट प्रूफ जैकेट्स थीं, वे कितनी घटिया किस्म की थीं। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी तैयारी जिस तरीके से होनी चाहिए, वह तैयारी नहीं हो पाती है। दूसरी बात यह है कि बार-बार यह बात कही जाती है, सदन में भी कही जाती है, सरकार की तरफ से कही जाती है कि हमें कानून चाहिए, हमारी सरकार के जो अंग हैं, सरकार के हाथ हैं, उन्हें मजबूत करना चाहिए। हम कानून बनाते जा रहे हैं। परन्तु उन कानूनों के बाद भी जो स्थिति में सुधार होना चाहिए, वह नहीं होता।

मैं आपके ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूं कि अभी मणिपुर की चर्चा हुई, अभी मुम्बई की चर्चा हुई। मुम्बई की घटना के बाद हमने दो कानून बनाए। मणिपुर में स्पेशल सिक्योरिटी ऐक्ट 1958 जो यह नार्थ ईस्ट के इलाके में है। जम्मू कश्मीर में 1990 में यह कानून लाया गया। पांच सौ से अधिक फर्जी एनकाउंटर किए और इसमें आर्मी को जो स्पेशल सिक्योरिटी ऐक्ट है, इसमें सेना को यह अधिकार दिया गया है कि अगर उसे शुबहा हो जाए, उसे शक हो जाए तो किसी भी आदमी को गिरफ्तार कर सकती है, जेल में डाल सकती है, उसके खिलाफ मुकदमा कर सकती है। परन्तु उसमें उस पीड़ित व्यक्ति को यह अधिकार नही होगा कि वह अपने खिलाफ लगाए गए आरोपों का प्रतिवाद कर सके या न्यायालय में जा सके। मैं यह सवाल पूछना चाहता हूं कि आखिर आप ने इन सख्त कानूनों के लगाने के बाद यह

जो नॉर्थ ईस्ट के इलाके हैं या जम्मू कश्मीर के इलाके हैं, यहां पर घटनाओं में कितनी कमी आई या यहां की स्थिति में कितना सुधार हुआ? दूसरी बात, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि माननीय गृह मंत्री जी यहां बैठे हुए हैं, गृह मंत्रालय की वेबसाइट से यह जानकारी मिली कि अब तक 62 हजार निहत्थे लोग इसमें सशस्त्र आंदोलन के या माओवादी आंदोलन के नहीं हैं, ये जनतांत्रिक शांतिपूर्ण आंदोलन के चलते पुलिस की गोली से मारे गए। देश में शुरू से ही यह चर्चा रही है कि पुलिस को किन परिस्थितियों में गोली चलानी चाहिए। अगर हम पुलिस को यह अधिकार दे दें, हम सशस्त्र बल को अधिकार दे दें, हम सेना को अधिकार दे दें तो उससे स्थिति सुधरनी नहीं है। अभी प्रधान मंत्री जी के बयानों का जो उद्धरण किया गया, उन्होंने नक्सली हिंसा के बारे में दो बातें बताईं। एक तो ठीक है कि प्रशासनिक स्तर पर हमें उसे निबटना चाहिए। परन्तु दूसरी बात यह है कि आखिर कारण क्या है। आज यह सबसे बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण विषय है कि आज देश के अंदर जो विभिन्न राज्य हैं और विशेषकर जो पिछड़े राज्य हैं, जो सीमावर्ती राज्य हैं, उन राज्यों में इस प्रकार की भावना देश की एकता के खिलाफ और देश की सुरक्षा के खिलाफ, क्यों पैदा हो रही है? उपसभापति महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस समय देश में दो प्रकार की मानसिक चेतना और दो प्रकार के दिमाग काम कर रहे हैं। जो सत्ता में लोग हैं उनके दिमाग में यह बात बैठ गई है कि पूरे देश का विकास, समग्र विकास, सर्वांगीण विकास असंभव है। तो अगर सब का विकास नहीं हो सकता तो कुछ लोगों का विकास किया जाए, तो जो देश की जनता है, जब उसके मन में यह बात आ गई कि सब का विकास नहीं होगा, तो जो ताकतवर हैं, चालाक हैं, सम्पन्न हैं, वे चाहते हैं कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा अपना हिस्सा बढ़ाएं और ज्यादा से ज्यादा अपनी दौलत बढ़ाएं। यह वृत्ति किसमें है? तो यह वृत्ति ज्यादातर ताकतवर लोगों में है। अगर यह दो प्रवृत्तियां हैं, दो वृत्तियां, दो दिमाग एक सत्ता में रहने वालों का, और एक आम जनता का जो पवित्र वर्ग है, अगर उनमें यह वृत्तियां काम आ जाएं तो देश की एकता संभव नहीं होगी। देश में कितनी भी बड़ी बात, कितनी भी लम्बी बात कही जाए यह बात कभी भी सकल रूप में या सबल रूप में स्थापित नहीं की जा सकती।

(उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो पी.जे. कुरियन) ***पीठासीन हुए)***

इसलिए आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि अगर किसी प्रकार का अन्याय है, अगर गरीबी है, तो अन्याय रहेगा तो हिंसा रहेगी। अगर हिंसा को खत्म करना है तो अन्याय को खत्म करना पड़ेगा। आज जो हमारे विकास का ढांचा है, वह विकास का ढांचा किस तरीके से है। विकास का ढांचा यह है कि एक तरफ तो वह वर्ग है जो कानून से ऊपर है, कोई भी किसी भी प्रकार से वह धन अर्जित कर सकता है और सरकार की जितनी नीतियां हैं, केवल उसी वर्ग को सशक्त बनाने की, उसी वर्ग को सम्पन्न बनाने की हैं। अगर यह नीतियां चलेंगी तो आप कैसे एकता और शांति स्थापित करना चाहते हैं? क्योंकि जो अपेक्षाएं हैं, जो लोगों के अंदर सपने हैं, उन अपेक्षाओं को, सपनों को पूरा करना पड़ेगा। ये जितने सीमावर्ती इलाके हैं, वे भारत के अंग हैं। वहां के लोगों में राजनीतिक दल थे, राष्ट्रीय दल थे। मैं मणिपुर को जानता हूं, मैं असम को जानता हूं, कश्मीर के अंदर भी कश्मीर की जनता का यह कमाल था कि जब पाकिस्तानी लोगों ने, वहां के उग्रवादियों ने कश्मीर पर हमला किया तो कश्मीर की जनता ने उसका प्रतिवाद किया, उसका मुकाबला किया। तो आखिर यह वृत्ति क्यों पैदा हो रही है? ठीक ही कहा है सीताराम येचुरी जी ने कि जो हमारे राजनीतिक दल हैं वे किसी बड़े विचार या सिद्धांत से प्रेरित नहीं हैं, उनके सामने देश नहीं है। उनके सामने सत्ता है, सत्ता को कैसे हथियाया जाए, संकुचित स्वार्थों के जरिए अगर देश को बांटना पड़े, वर्गों में, सम्प्रदायों में, क्षेत्रों में, अगर संघर्ष करना पड़े, घृणा फैलानी पड़े, तो उससे भी गुरेज़ नहीं करते हैं। मैं यह सवाल पूछना चाहता हूं कि आज क्या कारण है कि जो हमारे राष्ट्रीय प्रतीक हैं, उन राष्ट्रीय प्रतीकों के खिलाफ असम्मान

फैलाया जा रहा है, घृणा पैदा की जा रही है, वह चाहे गांधी जी हों, चाहे हमारी राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी हो? आज भाषा के सवाल पर विवाद हो रहा है। जो सवाल इस देश में पहले सुलझ चुके हैं, उन पर समझौता हो चुका है, आम सहमति हो चुकी है, परन्तु क्षुद्र राजनीतिक स्वार्थ के कारण, उन्हीं सवालों को उभारकर देश की एकता को खतरे में डाला जा रहा है और जो सत्ता में बैठे हुए लोग हैं, वे आग लगाकर दूर खड़े रहते हैं, मजा लेते रहते हैं और लोग लड़ते रहते हैं। अगर सरकार इस प्रकार के अराजक तत्वों के साथ, अराष्ट्रीय तत्वों के साथ, देश को जोड़ने वाली शक्तियों के साथ समझौता करेगी और उनके खिलाफ नरमी बरतेगी, तो वैसी ही स्थिति आएगी, जैसे आखिरी मुगल साम्राज्य की थी। आखिरी मुगल सम्राज्य जैसे अपने कमरे की कैद में रहकर शासन करता था और पूरा देश अराजकता की स्थिति में था, वही आखिरी मुगल साम्राज्य की तरह की स्थिति हो जायगी। जो आंकड़े हैं, वे बताते हैं कि दिनों-दिन ऐसे प्रदेशों की संख्या और जिलों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है, जहां पर आपका कानून नहीं चलता है, जहां पर आपकी व्यवस्था काम नहीं करती है। जो लोकल ग्रुप्स हैं, यह सही है कि उसमें वहां के लोकल कारण हैं और यह भी सही है कि वहां के जो आपराधिक लोग हैं, उन आपराधिक लोगों ने सारी कमान अपने हाथ में रख ली है, लेकिन उन आपराधिक लोगों के खिलाफ आप कार्यवाही नहीं कर पाते हैं, क्योंकि जन-समर्थन उनके साथ है। उनके साथ जन-समर्थन क्यों है, क्योंकि जो आपकी मशीनरी है, जो आपकी फोर्स है, चाहे प्रशासन की हो, चाहे सिविल की हो, चाहे पुलिस प्रशासन हो, वह इतना भ्रष्ट है, वह इतना अक्षम है, वह इतना डरपोक है कि वह उन स्थितियों का मुकाबला नहीं कर पाता। आप जानते हैं कि जो विकास की योजनाएं बनती हैं, उन विकास योजना का बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा, उन नक्सलपंथी या इन सशक्त आतंकवादी गुटों को दिया जाता है, क्योंकि अगर उनको हिस्सा नहीं देंगे, तो उनको चोरी करने का, कमाने का अवसर नहीं मिलेगा। देश में एक तरफ विकास का ढांचा है और दूसरी तरफ यह भ्रष्टाचार है। इस भ्रष्टाचार में दिल्ली से लेकर देश के छोटे-छोटे कोने तक हम आकंठ डूबे हुए हैं। इस भ्रष्टाचार ने जो हमारे समाज का नैतिक बल है, जो नैतिक साहस है, उसी को खत्म कर दिया। हम में लड़ने का दम नहीं है, हम से मुकाबला करने का दम है, हम डरते रहते हैं कि अगर जान चली जाएगी, तो मेरे बच्चों का क्या होगा? मैंने जो सम्पत्ति अर्जित की है, उसका क्या होगा? इसलिए राष्ट्र के स्तर पर यह हमारा चरित्र बन गया है कि जो ताकतवर हो, जो सबल हो, उसके साथ हम समझौता करें और जो कमजोर हो, उसकी जान ले लें या उसके खिलाफ आक्रामक रूख अख्तियार करें। इस प्रकार से हम केवल पुलिस के बल पर, फौज के बल पर शासन करना चाहेंगे, तो नहीं कर सकते हैं। हमारी जो बुनियादी जरूरज है, वह विकास है। हमें समग्र विकास की दृष्टि लानी पड़ेगी। ...**(समय की घंटी)**... इसके साथ ही हमें लोगों को यह विश्वास दिलाना पड़ेगा कि हमारे यहां कानून का राज चलता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री बृजभूषण तिवारी : आपको लोगों में यह विश्वास पैदा करना पड़ेगा कि यह देश सब का है और इस सब के लिए जरूरी है कि सभी राजनैतिक दलों को भी सुधारा जाए और उसी के साथ यह भी जरूरी है कि जो सत्ता में बैठे हुए लोग हैं, उनको भी नियम, मर्यादा और अपनी सीमा के अंदर रहना सीखना होगा और एक सभ्य समाज बनाने के लिए, लोकतांत्रिक तरीके का और लोकतांत्रिक उपकरण का इस्तेमाल करें, तभी इस देश में शांति हो सकती है और देश की आंतरिक सुरक्षा को भी सुदृढ़ किया जा सकता है। मैं इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ अपनी बात समाप्त करना चाहता हूं। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

DR. K. MALAISAMY (Tamil Nadu): Thank you Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Dr. Malaisamy, your party has five minutes.

DR. K. MALAISAMY: Sir, I always feel at home whenever you are in the Chair. I will try to confine myself ...*(Interruptions)*... Sir, our hon. Home Minister is also very considerate as far as I am concerned. Both join together, time is not a constraint. Sir, I am very thankful to you for having given me this opportunity to join the discussion on the most prime topic, the felt need of the hour. In fact, I have got a patent phrase for having chosen the topic for discussion in this House. In the morning, to illustrate my observation, out of twenty questions, ten questions related to the Ministry of Home Affairs. These ten questions related only to the problems of internal security and violence. So, Sir, it shows that the entire House is concerned about this particular issue. I also feel that this is the most important topic on which the entire House should necessarily discuss. Keeping in view the paucity of time, I am not going into the details of how the Army is working, how the BSF is working, how the CRPF is working and how the police is working. I am more concerned about what is needed to be done further. As far as the Home Minister is concerned, he has been very communicative. In fact, even when he says that the matters are aggravating, he explains in such a way that the situation is totally under control and nothing is very serious about it. It means, he is very optimistic. But I would like to say that, in any form of Government, the prime concern of the Government is to ensure the safety and security of the life and property of citizens. But when there is a danger to life and property of people, no Government is doing its duty. The country should be calm; the country should be peaceful. But what we are seeing is that the country has become uneasy and restless. Why is it so?

It is not today's affair or yesterday's affair. Despite the efforts employed by the previous Government or the present Government and the measures initiated the fact remains that the country is uneasy, the people are uneasy and restless. This is what I am trying to tell you. The Hon. Minister has done a lot of exercise. I don't undermine that. He has gone all around, he has done a lot of exercise, he has been holding a lot of discussions, and so on and so forth. But my pointed question is whether the measures taken are adequate, effective, continuous and timely. I repeat, whether the measures taken are adequate, effective, continuous and timely. The hon. Minister is well-versed in Tamil. He may try to say quote a couplet of Tirukkunal which means "If one wants to solve a problem, one has to go to the root of cause of it only then it can be solved." I know, as a Finance Minister, during his Budget Speech, he would quote a couplet from Thirukural. So, I also thought to quote Thirukural.

My second point is that as a measure for dealing with this problem, he will have a system and he will employ people to manage the system. Is there a system failure or human failure? So, I would like to know whether this point has been given a due thought.

My third point is that our Minister has gone on record to say that what Pakistan has been doing and what China has been doing adverse to our interest. In other words, what I am trying to say is that the problem is not only being dealt within our country, but our neighbouring countries have also started doing it. In such a situation, the problem is getting more and more aggravated. So, our efforts will be much more, in that process, according to me, Sir, the strategy will never go with ethics. When you are employing a strategy, ethics has no place. You cannot combine both. This is what, according to me, our Indian Government is trying to do, that is, employing ethics and strategy together. When a person is offensive, when a person is aggressive, he must be put in defence. They should be taught a lesson in such a way that they can understand. To deal with the Naxalites or Maoists or terrorists or extremists or insurgents, whoever it may be, there should be a political will. I raise a pointed question whether this Government has got a political will to deal with all these menaces. If you have got a will, then the skill should follow. So, have you got the will or the skill? This is my third point, Sir.

My fourth point is, Sir, they could have made some analysis. I do not undermine the Ministry of Home Affairs. It is empowered with heavy-weighted bureaucrats and other persons. They would have, certainly, made their SWOT analysis – What is our strength, what is our weakness, what is the opportunity and what is the threat? They would have already made it. But I would like them to concentrate on our weaknesses. What are the areas in which we have been really weak? According to me, our security management system is weak. In doing crisis management also, they are weak. They always make a soft approach. According to me, it should not be. The other point is coordination among the States which Mr. Yechury also mentioned. Coordination among the States is lacking. The, task force at the border is not there. To control the problem of insecurity, a special legislation, being a lawyer, he knows this, is required. Sir, we had POTA. But it was eliminated. They can think of a special legislation to control this. Sir, I will rush through my points. According to me, there are three focuss areas, that is, intelligence, security and infrastructure to fight. These are the focus areas on which our Minister may concentrate. Sir, let me conclude with a final observation. ...**(Time-bell rings)**... I will take a minute. Sir, as far as the problem is concerned, it is not easy. I agree that it is a gigantic problem. To deal with this problem, it needs a multi-faceted approach. So, as such, a multi-dimensional approach is necessary. This is number one.

Number two, you have to give support to the States in terms of modernisation, men, matters, advice etc. This is my second point.

My third point is that you have to strengthen the BSF because they are at the border. A lot of infiltration is there. They should check and prevent the infiltration. So, the BSF should be

strengthened. Then, intelligence mechanism also should be strengthened. Then he has to neutralise their activities. Lastly, Sir, bilateral and multilateral cooperation to deal with the menace is necessary. Thank you.

श्री राजनीति प्रसाद (बिहार) : सर, थैंक यू वेरी मच। हम लोग यहां पर internal security के बारे में विचार कर रहे हैं। हमारे पहले यहां पर, क्योंकि माओवादियों के बारे में बातचीत हो रही है, हमारे जो पूर्व गृह मंत्री थे, उन्होंने क्या कहा है, मैं उसके बारे में quote कर रहा हूं, उसके बाद अपनी बात रखूंगा। "The Union Home Minister, Shri Shivraj Patil, on Wednesday underlined the importance of dialogue in tackling the Naxalite violence in the State. Dialogue, he said, was one of the matters to solve the issue. The Naxalites are our brothers and sisters. What is wrong if we call those who are born in India as our brothers and sisters? They could be angry, they could be misled, but one should not conclude that they should be tackled with only bullet."

सर, इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि वे कोई आतंकवादी, हमारे दुश्मन नहीं हैं। वे लोग बाहर से नहीं आए हैं। इसी मिट्टी से वे लोग उपजे हैं और इसी मिट्टी के रहने वाले हैं। यहीं पर उनका समाज है, यहीं पर उनका घर है। लेकिन हम लोग सत्ता के सुख में उन लोगों के आम जीवन की जो समस्या है, उनकी रहने की जो समस्या है, उनकी जो खाने की समस्या है, गरीबों का जो fundamental right है, वह सब हम लोग भूल गए हैं, उसे हम लोग याद नहीं कर रहे हैं। इसीलिए हमारे अर्जुन सेनगुप्त जी ने कहा कि यहां पर 70-75 प्रतिशत लोग 20 रुपए रोज पर अपना जीवनयापन करते हैं। क्या आप ऐसा ऐसा सोचते हैं कि 20 रुपए रोज पर जीवनयापन करने वाले जो लोग हैं, क्या वहां नक्सलाइट पैदा नहीं होगा, क्या वहां माओवादी पैदा नहीं होगा? वह तो होना ही है। लेकिन इनके बारे में हम लोगों को विचार करना चाहिए। आपको इतना ज्यादा mandate है, आपको इतनी ज्यादा ताकत है, तो आपको उसका कोई उपाय निकालना चाहिए, उन लोगों से बात करनी चाहिए, क्योंकि वे पाकिस्तानी आतंकवादी नहीं है, कोई चीन के आतंकवादी नहीं हैं, कोई अमेरिका से नहीं आए हैं। इसलिए उसके बारे में जरूर बात करनी चाहिए। A naxalite is a problem. इसलिए problem है, क्योंकि वे have-not लोग हैं, वे गरीब लोग हैं और उन्हीं को लेकर उन लोगों ने माओवादी बनाया है। हम सीपीएम के लोगों के विचारों से जरूर सहमत हैं, लेकिन इतना सहमत नहीं हैं कि उन लोगों को बुलेट से tackle करना चाहिए। यह हमारे समझ से बाहर की चीज़ है, मैं इस पर सहमत नहीं होता हूं। हमारे गृह मंत्री जी ने एक स्टेटमेंट दे दिया। एक जगह नक्सलाइट का हमला हुआ, तो उन्होंने कहा कि हम इस पर ऊपर से surveillance करेंगे और military operation करेंगे, तो कैसे चलेगा? मैं उदाहरण के लिए एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि लोकनायक जय प्रकाश नारायण जी ने पेशेवर डकैतों को आत्मसमर्पण करा दिया। जब उन्होंने आत्मसमर्पण करा दिया, तो ऐसे लोगों में से एक-दो लोग चुन कर पार्लियामेंट में चले आए। अगर पेशेवर डकैतों को, जो खूनी डकैत हैं, उन लोगों को आत्मसमर्पण करा सकते हैं, तो वे लोग तो बुद्धिजीवी लोग हैं, वे अच्छे लोग हैं। अगर वे मुख्यधारा से हट गए हैं, तो क्या उनको मुख्यधारा में लाने के लिए हम लोग प्रयास नहीं कर सकते? इसलिए मेरा यह कहना है कि आतंकवाद केवल आतंकवाद नहीं है, internal security केवल internal security नहीं है।

सर, मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं कि हम लोगों के संविधान में यह लिखा गया है कि कहीं भी कोई आदमी जा सकता है, कहीं भी कोई रोजगार कर सकता है, कहीं भी कोई ठहर सकता है और कहीं भी कोई नौकरी खोज सकता है, तो क्या मैं ऐसा मानूं कि महाराष्ट्र में यह बात चल रही है? महाराष्ट्र में कैसा आतंक फैलाया जा रहा है? कैसे दो-भाषा पद्धति को लागू करने की बात कही जा रही है? क्या मैं ऐसा मानूं कि यह आतंकवाद, internal security का मामला नहीं है? देश को बांटने की जो स्थिति है, क्या मैं ऐसा नहीं मानूं कि यह internal security का मामला नहीं है? सर, आतंकवाद बहुत खतरनाक चीज है और internal security का मामला तो सबसे ज्यादा खतरनाक है। हमारे बहुत सारे नेता इसमें मारे गए, गरीब लोग भी मारे जाते हैं, कई लोग हैं, जो हमारे अच्छे वर्कर्स हैं, वे भी मारे जाते हैं। इसलिए मेरा एक सुझाव है कि internal security के लिए आप जरूर कुछ ऐसा साधन इस्तेमाल कीजिए कि आपका जो खुफिया तंत्र है, उसको आप जरूर बढ़िया से बढ़िया कीजिए।

सर, 26/11 के बारे में एक लाइन बोल कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा। 26/11 के बारे में तो खुफिया तंत्र का कुछ था ही नहीं, लेकिन अभी रोज खुफिया तंत्र के बारे में आ रहा है, फिर भी उसके बारे में कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। हमें लगता है कि हमारा जो पुलिस तंत्र है, हमारा जो खुफिया तंत्र है, हमारा जो जासूसी तंत्र है, वह completely fail हो गया और इसीलिए ये सारी घटनाएं घट रही हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : राजनीति जी, समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री राजनीति प्रसाद : एक मिनट, सर। नक्सलाइट्स की घटनाएं, माओवादियों की घटनाएं इसीलिए घट रही हैं, क्योंकि हमारा खुफिया तंत्र बहुत कमजोर है।

सर, अंत में मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि माओवादियों एवं नक्सलाइट्स का कोई उपाय निकालिए और उन लोगों से बातचीत करने के लिए कुछ कीजिए। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Mr. Waghmare, your Party has only three minutes, but you may try to conclude in five minutes.

DR. JANARDHAN WAGHMARE (Maharashtra): Thank you very much, Sir, for giving me this opportunity. I shall not take much time.

Internal security of this country is, of course, threatened. Today, we live in turmoil. We are facing trauma everyday. Today, no State in our country is safe. There is no peace. There are problems not only in border States but also in other States. There is terrorism, of course, Naxalite activities are spreading like anything. Maoists are threatening us. Crimes are on the increase. Communalism is on the increase. Sectarian regionalism is also on the increase. That is why, our life is not very safe. Crimes are on the rise and our lives are not safe in this country. Therefore, we will have to go to the root cause of the problem. And, I think, the root cause is inequality, extreme inequality. There is acute poverty. We have to address all these problems. There is the problem of law and order that has to be dealt with. Now, where is naxalism prospering? It is in the tribal areas. It is in the jungles. And, there they are resorting to guerilla war. So, our policemen will have to be trained in that skill of guerilla war. The Naxalites have their own ideology. We have to face it. They don't have faith in

peace. They don't have faith in non-violence. They have faith in the barrel of the gun. That's why they would like to have power in their own hands. So, there is enormous exploitation in the tribal areas. Poverty is increasing. We need to address all these problems. Now, I would like to emphasise that this problem cannot be tackled only by the States. All the States will have to come together. Why not form a consortium of States to face Naxalites and Maoists in the country? This would be the best strategy. Poverty is very acute at some places. Nearly 70 per cent of the people live on twenty rupees a day. And, on the other hand, we have people who spend twenty crore rupees on wedding ceremonies. This great disparity would create chaos and be a great problem to us. Therefore, we have to fight poverty and violence. Our strategy must be very comprehensive and we need to adopt many ways to tackle this menace.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN): Thank you very much for sticking to your time limit.

Now, Shri D. Raja. Mr. Raja, I am sorry to tell you that your Party's time is also three minutes. Please, try to be brief.

SHRI D.RAJA (Tamil Nadu): Sir, we are discussing a very important subject of internal security. Here, it is appropriate to remember what Dr. Ambedkar has said in his last historic speech in the Constituent Assembly. While placing the Constitution, it was Dr. Ambedkar who was so prophetic that he said, "On 26th January, 1950 India enters into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality; but in social, economic and cultural life, we will continue to have inequality. There will be one man, one vote system, but there won't be one man, one value, and this disparity, this inequality can lead to a situation where the democracy will find itself in peril." I think, almost we are facing such a situation. This prophetic caution was not properly understood by everyone of us. Otherwise, since Independence we would not see such a social discrimination, economic inequality and disparity in our country.

Having said that, Sir, I must say that the question of internal security must be addressed at two levels. One, what is the understanding of internal security? Second, what is the action that we propose to do? My point is, internal security should be understood in a proper perspective. If the terrorist forces within the country, the insurgents, Maoists or otherwise, the extremists, left or right, pose a threat which can de-stabilise the nation, which can emerge as a threat to the State and which can emerge as a challenge to the rule of law, this has to be understood. But there is one more level, that is, there are people who are fighting for their legitimate rights, people who are fighting for their rights to live, their rights to food, their rights to water, their rights to home, their rights to forests and their rights to the natural wealth of our country. That is another level. They are also fighting and when

they fight, they challenge the State; when they fight, they confront the State machinery, the police and all the suppressive or oppressive apparatus of the State. They do that because these people fight for their rights. How do we understand them? This is point number one which the House will have to consider seriously.

Now, I come to certain concrete issues. One, there is the question of Maoism. I don't get into ideological or theoretical debate on that issue. It is none other than Lenin who called it the left-wing extremism and infantile disorder. After Lenin, the history has moved far. But even then, that extremism continues as an infantile disorder and we have to fight it at ideological and political level; that we also do; as Communists; we are doing it. But how do you address the menace of Maoism? There, I think, the Government will have to be more realistic and pragmatic. It cannot be dealt as a simple law and order issue. It is not. The Government will have to acknowledge the socio-economic roots for this emergence of Maoism in the country or Naxalism in the country. There I do not agree with the hon. Home Minister when he talked about violence, unless the violence is given up, then only the State can come forward for any meaningful dialogue; I think, the State also will have to stop violence. There is violence, counter-violence.

One has to really understand which violence is primary and which violence is first. Even it happened in many international matters. When there was war going on in Vietnam, the peace talks went on in Paris. It was a war, real war. Here, you cannot treat our own people as aliens, and, you cannot declare a war against our own people. You cannot talk of using the Army or the Military against our own people. What is the way out? The Government must be very realistic on how to address this issue? Issues are there. As Mr. Keshava Rao was talking about, why backwardness is there; whom we can accuse? Who is responsible for the tribal people living in such abject poverty in such conditions of backwardness? What crime they have committed, what sin they have done that they live such a worst and ruptured life even after sixty years of Independence. The State should take the responsibility. All the political parties must take the responsibility. Can you wage a war against the tribal people? That is where the Government needs to be more realistic. This is point number one on Maoists.

Coming to Manipur, the problems of the North-East are very specific. North-East remains very backward and it is known to everybody. The insurgents are there. What is the way to tackle this insurgency in the North East? Can you do it with your Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act? I would like to ask the Government, can you control insurgency simply by use of this Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, whether it is Manipur, Nagaland or any other State. This is my question to the

Government. My opinion is that the Government should immediately repeal the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act. This is my appeal to the Government. It is my understanding. If you think that with this Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, you can rule the North East, I don't think that it will produce any results. ...**(Time-bell rings)**... I must say that there is a need to ensure that the rule of law prevails in the North-East, in Manipur, and, for that, the Government should, again, show some kind of saner activities. The Government should put an end to the fake encounters that are taking place in Manipur and other parts of the country.

Now, Sir, I come to the issue of social discrimination. Sir, this is the twentieth year of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, What is happening now? Even the anti-naxal laws were used against those who fought against the continuous atrocities committed against dalits. It happened in Maharashtra. ...**(Time-bell rings)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Please conclude.

SHRI D. RAJA: I am concluding, Sir. This is a serious issue. There are studies which show that the number of people killed during caste clashes is higher than that of people killed in any other clashes. There is an independent report showing as to why *dalits* were killed. How can you expect the internal security to remain protected while *dalits* are being butchered or killed like this?

Here, I must say, when people accuse Left Wing Extremism, there is a danger of Right Wing Extremism. You cannot simply undermine the Right Wing Extremism. In case of Left Wing Extremism, they challenge the State, they challenge the policy, they challenge the bureaucracy, but in the case of Right Wing Extremism, they disrupt the social harmony, they challenge the very secular fabric of the Constitution, the secular character of the Constitution and the secular fabric of the society. How is the State going to address their issues? The question of internal security needs to be understood in a greater and larger perspective – it is not a simple narrow issue; one day, it is naxalism; the other day, it is something else – otherwise, we cannot really address the challenges which we face today in this country. Thank you.

SHRIMATI SHOBHANA BHARTIA (Nominated): Thank you, Sir. Left Wing Extremism, which had earlier manifested in sporadic violence across the States of Bihar and Andhra Pradesh in the 1980s and the 1990s, has today, to my mind, supposed to be the gravest challenge to our internal security. Sir, because of paucity of time, I will only stick to this one single issue. Today, Sir, the Maoists and their allies have spread their presence in over 17 States crossing more than 200 districts. They are striking almost on daily basis. According to the Home Ministry data, over 580 people have been killed in the first 8 months of this year as compared to almost 700 in the entire last year. More

importantly, more security personnel have died in Maoists violence in the first 8 months of this year than in the entire previous calendar year. Just to give a context to this, Sir, we have lost over 900 people from our security forces in Maoists violence over the last 4 years, a figure which is only marginally below the 1,100 security troops that have been lost in Afghanistan by the Allied Forces. That is the magnitude of our problem.

Recently, the politburo of the Maoist party passed a resolution urging its cadres to intensify their attacks on Government and security establishments and also to expand into newer areas. They are using more sophisticated weapons and there is much better intelligence sharing. Besides targeting the police and the Government establishments, they are also trying to spread now and disturb infrastructure development and economic infrastructure such as roads, bridges, railways and telecommunication networks. In short, they are posing to be a grave challenge not only to our internal security but also, to my mind, they will be the biggest drag on India's economic progress unless we do something to try and stem this. Clearly, there is no room for complacency in dealing with this insurgency. The Government must act and act fast with a strategy that is well thought out, that is well coordinated and comprehensive in every manner to try and address the various issues.

Sir, firstly and foremostly, it must redress the discontent and alienation caused by the economic disparity and social divides that have actually led to this insurgency. It is no coincidence that the areas that are stronghold of the rebels also happen to be the country's most under developed and most backward areas with Government services very often not reaching the intended beneficiaries. These areas which have been neglected for decades are today posing to be fertile grounds for this insurgency. To quote the Prime Minister, we have to undo the developmental lapses that have happened over the years and that should be at the core of our fight against this insurgency. But effective developmental intervention rests really squarely on the availability of a delivery network on adequate logistics and most importantly on law and order. That is where we have the gravest problem. In many of these areas, law and order is almost non-existent and the Government services reach far fewer people than they are intended for. Political representation in these areas has also been very weak. That has given rise to a parallel Government that is functioning out of these areas, often reinforcing fear rather than any support amongst local people. But they have little choice. New interest groups and power centres are coming up in these areas. Therefore, Sir, it is extremely important for the Government to not only restore law and order but also to reinforce a sense of security amongst the local people and to adequately back up institutions of governance.

Sir, modernisation of the police forces in these areas has been a topic that has been burning for a long time. The Home Minister has said that he is addressing it. We need to do it on a war footing. There are several vacancies amongst the police force again in these areas. The number is quite glaring. If you want to address this issue, this would invariably require a decisive armed defensive against the rebels. Most of them are very ill-equipped. Police in these areas are very ill equipped and very poorly trained. Andhra Pradesh has been one State which has been successful in raising the Greyhound commandos to fight these Maoists. They use these commandos as well as developmental tools because both have to go hand in hand if you have to surmount this insurgency. The other States might find it quite difficult in the short term to emulate this example. The Salwa Judum experiment also in Chhattisgarh actually has raised more controversies than solving too many problems. So, even whilst we look at other remedies, the Central forces have to take the frontline in this fight against terrorism. Even if this is done, the States needs to share intelligence in a more real time manner. We need to ensure that there is a united front to tackle insurgency which today has actually thrived on lack of coordination amongst the States and the political expediency. ...**(Time-bell rings)**... The Centre has put forward many proposals. I just want to urge it to, once again, have a massive mobilisation of paramilitary forces and police in the affected areas before it gets too late, before it gets out of control.

You could strengthen and expand anti-poverty programmes whether NREGA or other similar programmes. Sir, action on the Forest Rights, which actually has resulted in the alienation of tribals, has a great potential to try and undo this damage. Land for land should be a must in tribal areas and a free and fair compensation should be paid to people whose land has been taken.

Last but not least, the Centre must explore ways and means to start a dialogue with the rebels. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA (Assam): Sir, today most of the speakers spoke about the Naxal-hit areas. I would not like to repeat this thing. Although I belong to opposition, I must admit that the internal security situation in our country, except in the Maoist-or the Naxal-hit areas, is improving today. I must compliment the Government, for there is no Mumbai like situation. Mumbai is quite peaceful. So we are very happy. After last year's incident, there is no such type of incident at all in our country. We are really happy, Sir.

Through the news, it has come to our notice that the Government has started a dialogue with a certain group of Kashmir. It is also a welcome move. We would not like to play politics with this dialogue. We need peace in Kashmir valley also. We welcome the move taken by the Government of

India regarding the dialogue with the Kashmiri group. But, Sir, I am very sorry to say that the scenario in the North Eastern region and Assam did not find a mention in the speeches of my previous speakers. The situation in the North-Eastern region is not improving. Sir, situation in Manipur is known to everybody. Day by day, the situation in Manipur is going out of control. For more than two or three months, the educational institutions in Manipur remained shut. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act is still applicable in Manipur. Various groups have demanded and suggested withdrawal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act from Manipur. I hope the hon. Minister will definitely consider this proposal.

Another very interesting development in the North Eastern region, which I would like to mention here, is this. Recently, the Nagaland Assembly passed a resolution demanding separate Nagalim. In this separate Nagalim they described certain area of Assam to be included into the new Map of India. We want to maintain brotherly relations with Nagaland. We want peaceful relations with our neighbouring State but not at the cost of our own land. The people of Assam cannot sacrifice land in the name of peace. I hope the Government of India is going to take up this matter very seriously with the Nagaland Government and settle the problem immediately. Otherwise, it will create unnecessary tension in our area. Although there is some improvement in North Kachar, the situation in Assam, I must admit, is not improving. Day by day, the situation is becoming worse. There is no security of life and property. On 4th October, 13 people were killed in Bhimajinli in Bishwanath-Chariali Sub-Division of Sonitpur District of Assam, Sir. More than 450 people were seriously killed and more than 50 people were injured. Again, Sir, on 16th November, the railway communication between Upper Assam and rest of the country was totally disrupted for 12 hours. In the Rajdhani Express train, there was a bomb blast. Due to that blast, the rail tracks were damaged and there was no railway operation in this area for more than 12 hours.

Sir, it is known to everyone that very recently, there is a twin blast in Nalbari in Assam; nine people were killed, Sir, and more than 40 people were very seriously injured. The scenario of Assam you cannot compare with the other part of the country. The scenario in Assam is very difficult. In the last Session, hon. Home Minister has very rightly agreed that fugitives and jehadis were very much active in Assam, Sir, it is known to everybody that Pakistani Flag was hoisted in Assam. In Mohanpur village of Udalguri District of Assam, Pakistani Flag was hoisted, Sir! Fugitives and jehadis used Assam as a transit camp; they took shelter; they took training in Bangladesh and they came to Assam for a transit. After indulging in unlawful activities in Assam and other parts of the country, they

again moved to Bangladesh. ...**(Time Bell rings)**... Again, the Indo-Bangladesh border is open and these people, these extremist groups, these fugitives and jehadis take advantage of that open Indo-Bangladesh border.

Sir, we are condemning all types of violence. Always people are killed in Assam and in the North-Eastern region. Those people are our people, either they may be killed by the police or they may be killed by the army or they may be killed by the extremist organisations. Ultimately, those people are our people, the citizens of our country. We appeal to these people, we appeal to all the extremist organisations to come forward for having a dialogue with the Government of India. We appeal to the Government of India also to start a political dialogue with the extremist organisations immediately. Only a political dialogue can solve this problem. We want a permanent solution. We want peace, Sir. We are very good Indians and we would like them to become very good Indians. Sir, when Sachin Tendulkar hit the century, like crores of Indians we enjoyed it; we also shared the glory. But when Sachin Tendulkar was out, like crores of Indians we also said, "Oh, my God, Sachin is out!" This is our sentiment. Try to understand our sentiment. We want a permanent solution for having peach in our region, not a temporary solution. Sir, the Home Minister also in the last Parliament Session ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Baishyaji, please conclude.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Sir, my problem is that the time is very short, I am sorry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): That is our problem.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Yes, Sir. I would like to request the hon. Home Minister to look into the matter and take steps for sealing the Indo-Bangladesh border immediately. He should take some initiative. I hope, very soon, this Indo-Bangladesh border is going to be sealed. The Government of India is going to take all the necessary steps for having permanent peace in our region, permanent peace in the North-Eastern region and permanent peace in Assam. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Thank you, Mr. Baishya. The next is Mr. Rama Jois. do not know what to do because ...*(Interruptions)*... Let me make it clear. Your Party's allotted time is 30 minutes and your Party has already taken 36 minutes! So, the time left is minus six minutes. What should we do?

DR. (SHRIMATI) NAJMA A. HEPTULLA: Sir, those minus minutes you give him!

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Only Einstein can do; I cannot do. Mine is to make it. Anyhow, conclude in five minutes please.

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS (Karnataka): Sir, I will be very brief. The matter under discussion is of a very serious kind in respect of the security of the country. I may recall the famous statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: 'If India lives, who dies? If India dies, who lives?' It is the responsibility of all the citizens to ensure that there is internal security. The highest duty of the state is to provide security and protection to the citizens. A sense of security is important to the people because unless there is a sense of security, they cannot carry on any business or profession and they can do so efficiently only if they are assured of security. Today, the position is that working women going to work places feel they are not safe; housewives feel that when children go to schools whether they would come back safefy or not. Such fear is haunting the minds of the citizens. Therefore, it has become necessary to ensure in the entire nation that there is a sense of security and peace. From time immemorial, our slogan has been शांतिः शांतिः शांतिः। There should be peace everywhere. But, unfortunately, that itself is under a great threat.

Therefore, in a matter like this, irrespective of political parties or any other feelings, all of us should stand together as a nation for ensuring security in our country. I may recall a famous statement in Mahabharata. Yudhishtthira said, वयं पंचाधिकं शतं। Gandharvas invaded Kauravas. The question arose before Dharmaraya whether he should join hands with Gandharvas or should join Kauravas. Then he said, 'If there is a fight between Pandavas and Kauravas, we are a hundred versus five. But, if it is a third-party comes in, then we are a hundred and five.' That should be the attitude of all political parties. We should join together. Instead of accusing one another, we have to work for the unity and security of the country.

I may give an example which was created recently in Kaiga. Kaiga is an atomic project in Karnataka. In that, heavy water was included in the drinking water and workers became unwell for having consumed it. Who went inside and who put the heavy water into the drinking water is not known. In Karnataka, there is a threat to dams and reservoirs. If a dam or reservoir is destroyed, there would be great calamity. Now, special security forces have been posted there.

Recently, a Pakistani spy came to India through Nepal. He had a passport, a visa; he had PAN card and everything. How did he get them? That shows of our security lapses. China is treating our Jammu and Kashmir as a disputed territory. As far as 26/11 is concerned, much has been spoken already. Terrorists came by boat from Pakistan to India. There is a territorial water for about 10 kms. If any third party enters a territorial water, then immediately it must be known to the Coastal Guard. They have not prevented from entering India. Whether they had some support of any individual internally should be looked into because, otherwise, they coming from outside they could not have done so much havoc in a new place. Therefore, this aspect also has to be looked into.

Recently, even in district and taluka places, in Karnataka – Honnali and Hubli – illegitimate arms and ammunition have been manufactured and supplied throughout the country. That has been reported and the police have arrested them. That also shows the security lapse. All this is a tip of the iceberg. Therefore, our criminal justice delivery and vigilance must be very efficient. They should be not only preventive but also punitive.

You must take all preventive actions so that such things do not happen and at the same time whoever is caught must be punished. Otherwise, the cases go on for years together and therefore, people are not afraid of rule of law. During Emergency, Maintenance of Internal Security Act has been enacted during Indira Gandhi's Government and it was strictly being enforced. Like maintenance of Internal Security Act should be another law enacted and there should be eternal vigilance. Eternal vigilance not merely by the police and Government agencies but every citizen should become vigilant and should safeguard the security of the country. For example, Dr. Ambedkar was asked, 'which is the important word to the Preamble to the Constitution?' He did not stress on equality. He said fraternity, the feeling of fraternity among all the citizens of the country, who are children of the same mother. If that feeling is there, then, automatically threat to internal security will come down. It is not only Naxalites and Maoists but even linguistic chauvinism has gone up recently and threatening the peace. I have written an article about that also. K. M. Munshi has written a foreword in a book on History and Culture of India and he said that he never believe this that linguistic state are going to become sub-nation states but unfortunately, these are becoming sub-nation states saying 'sons of the soil'. According to me, that is a very pernicious theory. There is only one soil, *i.e.* the soil of Bharat Mata. Every particle is good for us. But, unfortunately, the regional feelings on the basis of language, Caste, religion, have been raised and that is really spoiling the peaceful atmosphere. For example, in 1951, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister, when lakhs of people were coming to see him, he would jump from his car to be among the people and put garlands to individual citizens and greet them. But, today is it possible at all for a Prime Minister or an important VIP to come to the midst of people in the middle?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM): It is not possible for the Prime Minister of any country. Let us remember that.

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS: The Prime Minister himself used to go near the masses and jump among them. You see the difference between that situation and today. Our Budget for security has increased so much. But, with all that, first of all you must create a sense of patriotism and fraternity as part of National Educational System and at the same time punitive measures should also be strictly enforced.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Thank you, very much. Now, Dr. Prabha Thakur.

SHRI M. RAMA JOIS: Just one minute. I will quote a line. In Mahabharat times, "The highest duty of the State is to give protection." And Karnataka neetirara states that "The subjects require protection against wicked officers of the king, thieves, enemies of the king, royal favourites (such as the queen, princes etc.)" – today it may be relatives of Minister – "and more than all, against the greed of the king himself. The king should ensure the people against these fears."

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सभी विद्वान सदस्यों के विचार सुन रही थी। श्री संजय राउत जी ने देश की आंतरिक सुरक्षा के खतरे से उत्पन्न स्थिति पर जो चर्चा आरंभ की है, यह एक बहुत ही रेलेवेंट और ज्वलंत इश्यू है। देश को जिन स्थितियों से खतरा है, उनसे निपटने के लिए कहीं राजनीति से ऊपर उठकर, कहीं प्रांतीय भावना से ऊपर उठकर, कहीं अपनी राजनीतिक दल की विचारधारा से ऊपर उठकर तथा सबको एकजुट होकर, देश की राष्ट्रीयता एकता और अखंडता के लिए मिलकर काम करना होगा और दिल से यह संकल्प करना होगा, तब कहीं जाकर हम इन खतरों का मुकाबला कर सकेंगे। तभी हम इन खतरों को समाप्त करने में कामयाब हो सकेंगे। मात्र केवल सरकारें, मात्र केवल पुलिस, मात्र केवल आर्मी से जो खतरे हैं, ये टलने वाले नहीं हैं। यह आतंकवाद का अजगर विभिन्न राज्यों में तथा पूरे ही देश में अलग-अलग शक्लों में अपने पैर पसारता जा रहा है। आज इसके पीछे धन है और कई पार्टियों के द्वारा दिए गए प्रलोभन भी हैं, आर्थिक शक्तियां भी हैं और यह आतंकवाद ऐसे ही पनप रहा है। इस आतंकवाद में कई पड़ोसी मुल्कों के इशारे भी हैं और उनकी दी हुई सिक्युरिटीज़ भी हैं। इसलिए आज हमें अपने आपको बचाना हमारी पहली जरूरत है। इस विषय में यदि जरूरी है, तो कोई भी कठोर से कठोर विधेयक लाया जा सकता है और कानून बनाया जा सकता है। इस देश में चाहे कोई भी राजनीतिक दल हो, जिनकी विचारधारा और बातें जाति, धर्म, प्रांत, भाषा या किसी भी नाम पर समाज को बांटती है, देश को तोड़ती हैं, तो उन पर विधेयकों के जरिए रोक लगाना जरूरी है, क्योंकि देश तथा देश की सम्प्रभुता और एकता किसी भी राजनीतिक दल से सर्वोपरि है। जिस एकता और अखंडता के लिए इंदिरा गांधी कुर्बान हुई हैं और हमारे कई लोगों ने कुर्बानियां दी हैं, उसके बाद यह देश आजाद हुआ है। आज इस आजाद देश में फिर आतंकवाद की बलि वेदी पर कितने ही मासूम लोगों को अपनी कुर्बानियां देनी पड़ रही हैं, इस पर हम सबको सोचना होगा। अखबारों में bitween the two lines, ऐसा लिखा होता है, जिस राजनीतिज्ञ या प्रशासनिक लोग ही पढ़ सकते हैं, आम जनता नहीं। यह बात गलत है, क्योंकि अब आम जनता भी पढ़ सकती है कि bitween the two lines क्या लिखा है? जो वह कह रहा है, उसको वह कर रहा है या नहीं कर रहा है। लोग उसके आचरण को देख रहे हैं कि उसकी कथनी और करनी में क्या अंतर है, कौन-सी पार्टी क्या करती है और कहती है। आज मुझे यह देखकर बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि राजनीति प्रसाद जी बहुत अच्छा बोलते हैं, वे बड़े अच्छे वक्ता हैं और विद्वान हैं। उन्होंने एक बात कही कि गरीबी के कारण मुफ्लिसी के कारण हमारे बच्चे हथियार उठा लेते हैं, इसलिए हमें उनके बारे में सोचना चाहिए। यह ठीक है कि गरीबों के बारे में जरूर सोचना चाहिए, आदिवासियों के बारे में सोचना चाहिए और इस सरकार ने इनके बारे में सोचा भी है। आदिवासियों को वनों की जमीनों का मालिक बनाया है, SC, ST के लोगों को अधिकार दिए हैं। आजादी के बाद इस कांग्रेस सरकार ने, डॉ. बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर जी ने संविधान रचा। उसमें उन्होंने SC, ST के लोगों को समाज की मूल धारा में लाने के लिए यह अधिकार दिया कि उनको आर्थिक रूप से ताकतवर बनाया जाए, उनको सामाजिक रूप से ताकतवर बनाया जाए, इसलिए नहीं कि जातिवाद, सम्प्रदायवाद या इस प्रकार के अन्य वाद इस देश में हावी होने लगें। जब धर्म के नाम पर कोई वाद खड़ा किया जाता है, तो देश की सम्प्रभुता को उससे अधिक बड़ा खतरा किसी से नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि धर्म हमारी व्यक्तिगत चीज है। यह हमारे

आराधना करने की चीज है। हमारी जाति, हमारा धर्म, हमारा सम्प्रदाय, जो भी जिसका है, उस पर हर एक को गर्व है और गर्व क्यों नहीं होना चाहिए। लेकिन अगर हम उसके नाम पर राजनीति करेंगे, उसके नाम पर लोगों में अलगाववाद फैलाएंगे, उसके नाम पर सत्ता हासिल करना चाहेंगे, तो देश में हिंसा, नफरत, वैर और आगजनी तथा आतंक के अलवा कुछ नहीं फैला पाएंगे।

महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूंगी कि ऐसा कड़ा विधेयक आना जरूरी है, जिससे इस प्रकार के राजनीतिक दलों पर तथा उनकी इस तरह से सोच पर पाबंदी होनी चाहिए कि वे इसके नाम पर राजनीति न कर सकें। आतंकवाद के कई घिनौने रूप हैं, नक्सलवाद, उग्रवाद, माओवाद और अलगाववाद तथा धर्म, प्रांत, जाति, सम्प्रदाय और भाषा पर अलगाववाद। इस सदन में मेरे विद्वान माननीय सदस्यों ने इन सबकी चर्चा की है। महोदय, पुंज साहब बहुत विद्वान हैं और मैं उनका बड़ा सम्मान करती हूं। उन्होंने मणिपुर की स्थिति के बारे में बताया और कहा कि वहां के हालात को देखते हुए, वहां की सरकार बर्खास्त होनी चाहिए। वे यह बात भूल गए हैं, उन्हें यह बात याद नहीं रही कि जब गुजरात में दंगे हुए थे, तब अटल जी जब एन.डी.ए. के प्रधानमंत्री थे, उन्होंने स्वयं यह कहा था, उन्होंने नरेन्द्र मोदी के लिए कहा था कि ये कलंक हैं। तब उसके बावजूद भी उस कलंक को समाप्त करने के लिए, उनको सस्पेंड करने के लिए, उनको हटाने के लिए क्या एन.डी.ए. सरकार ने कोई कार्रवाई की थी? कथनी और करनी में इतना अंतर होता है। जब अपनी पर आए तो बात अलग हो जाती है। मीठा-मीठा गप्प और कड़वा-कड़ा थू। जब खुद पर बात आए तो सही, लेकिन दूसरों की आलोचना करने वालों को अपने गरेबान में झांककर देखना चाहिए कि वे कितनी ईमानदारी और सच्चाई के साथ यह बात कर रहे हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**... महोदय, मैं बोल दूं, उसके बाद में माननीया वरिष्ठ सांसद बोल लें ...**(व्यवधान)**... मेरे दिल में जो बात आएगी, मैं वह कहना चाहूंगी। जब इस देश में 26/11 का हादसा हुआ, तब पूरे देश में यह मैसेज गया कि एकमात्र कांग्रेस ही वह पार्टी है जो जोड़ने वाली पार्टी है, बाकी पार्टियों राजनीति करती हैं। यह मैसेज गया ...**(व्यवधान)**... इसलिए ...**(व्यवधान)**... जनता विश्वास रखती है ...**(व्यवधान)**... यह जनता ने विश्वास रखा है कि कांग्रेस ही ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : Sir, this is not the monopoly of ...*(Interruptions)*... This is not the monopoly of Congress Party alone. ...*(Interruptions)*... The unity and integrity of the country is the concern of all the political parties, irrespective of ...*(Interruptions)*...

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : यह तो सभी जानते हैं कि सिर्फ कांग्रेस के लोगों द्वारा वोट देने से लोकसभा में सरकार नहीं बनी ...**(व्यवधान)**... सर, मैं जो कह रही हूं ...**(व्यवधान)**... वह सही है ...**(व्यवधान)**... सर ...**(व्यवधान)**... मैं आपगे अपनी बात कहना चाहती हूं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Prabhaji, has subject should be above party politics. ...*(Interruptions)*

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : सर, इसमें पोलिटिक्स की बात नहीं है। इसमें पोलिटिक्स क्या है, मैं सच्चाई कह रही हूं। आपको अगर इसमें मेरा एक भी शब्द गलत लगे तो आप मुझे बिठा दीजिए, मैं बैठ जाउंगी। वैसे भी मुझे अंत में मौका मिला है, आपने अवसर दिया है, मुझे बोलने दीजिए। महोदय, अगर बात गलत हो तो आप कहिएगा कि बात गलत है, देश सुन रहा है, देश कहेगा, सब सुन रहे हैं। मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि आज कांग्रेस से ज्यादा आतंकवाद की कीमत किसने चुकाई है? इंदिरा जी शिकार हुई हैं, हमारे महात्मा गांधी आतंकवाद के शिकार हुए हैं, राजीव गांधी को हमसे छीन लिया गया है, सरदार बेअंत सिंह शहीद हुए हैं, सैकड़ों बेकसूर लोग शहीद हुए हैं। जब ताज पर 26/11 का हादसा हुआ था, उसमें हेमंत करकरे और कई पुलिसकर्मी शहीद हुए ...**(व्यवधान)**... ये लोग आतंकवाद

पर ही शहीद हुए हैं। महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहूंगी कि इस देश में स्त्रियां कभी नहीं चाहतीं कि हिंसा हो, आतंकवाद हो। देश तभी सुरक्षित रहेगा, जब देश में शांति रहेगी। देश में शांति तभी रहेगी, जब देश में सद्भावना रहेगी और सद्भावना कायम रखने के लिए जरूरी है कि देश में शांति रहे। हमारा देश पूरी दुनिया में अनेकता में एकता की मिसाल है, जो भारत की विशेषता है, कुछ लोग पूछते हैं कि पैंतालीस वर्ष राज करके कांग्रेस ने देश को क्या दिया? कांग्रेस ने यह दिया कि इतनी जाति, धर्म और संप्रदाय के सारे फूलों को एक गुलदस्ते की तरह एक साथ सजाकर रखा है। सबको सम्मान दिया, सबको एक रखा और उसके लिए अपनी कीमत चुकानी पड़ी तो कुर्बानी देकर कीमत भी चुकाई है। कांग्रेस ने इसको अखण्ड बनाए रखने में योगदान दिया है। यह कांग्रेस की देन है, इसीलिए आज जनता ने प्रधानमंत्री मनमोहन सिंह जी पर विश्वास किया। उन्होंने यह कभी भी नहीं कहा कि अमुक प्रदेश के लोग पंजाब नहीं जा सकते, राहुल गांधी जी ने कभी नहीं कहा कि यहां से कोई उत्तर प्रदेश नहीं जा सकता, उन्होंने इस तरह की कोई राजनीति नहीं की। उन्होंने देश को जोड़ने की बात कही **...(व्यवधान)...** आप बैठिए **...(व्यवधान)...** सर, मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री जी ने, यह अफसोस की बात है, उन्होंने कुछ समय पहले अपने भाषण में, नगर निगमों के **...(व्यवधान)...** चुनावों के दौरान यह बात कही है कि मध्य प्रदेश में बिहारी **...(व्यवधान)...** नहीं चाहिए **...(व्यवधान)...**

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : Sir, it is very sad. ***...(Interruptions)...*** Sir, it is very sad that a debate, which was going on at such a high level, has been reduced to the propaganda of a political party. ***...(Interruptions)...*** This is really very sad. ***...(Interruptions)...***

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : सर, जो हकीकत है, मैं वही बता रही हूं। आज चाहे राज ठाकरे साहब हों, मध्य प्रदेश के मुख्यमंत्री हों, चाहे गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री हों, इस बार जनता ने लोक सभा में सभी को यह सबक दिया है कि हमें जोड़ने वाली राजनीति चाहिए, तोड़ने वाली राजनीति नहीं चाहिए। क्योंकि जनता ने यह बताया कि हम आतंकवाद नहीं चाहते। अब सदन में बैठ कर हमारे वामपंथी कुछ भी बात करें और नेपाल जाकर वहां हाथ मिलाएं और वहां वे भाषा दूसरी बोलें, अपने लोगों को encourage करें, मिलीजुली सरकार चलाएं और यहां पर बैठ कर इस सदन में बात करें कि सबको एक होना चाहिए, राजनीति नहीं करनी चाहिए। 'राजनीति नहीं करनी चाहिए' कह-कह कर बराबर राजनीति कर रहे हैं। क्या देश का आवाम नहीं समझता और क्या हम ही लोग, जो यहां बैठे हैं, वे ही अक्लमंद हैं? देश की सारी जनता समझती है। इसलिए उसने सबको समझा भी दिया और अगर फिर भी समझ में नहीं आएगा, तो आगे वे और अच्छी तरह से समझा देंगे। महोदय, मैं कोई राजनीति की बात नहीं कर रहा हूं। मेरा मतलब यह है कि यह आतंकवाद दूर होना चाहिए। आतंकवाद दूर करना है, तो यह दोमूंही भाषा और दोमुंहा व्यवहार बन्द करना पड़ेगा। भारत में बोलेंगे दूसरी भाषा और नेपाल जाएंगे, तो दूसरी भाषा। सर, ऐसा नहीं चलेगा। लोग अखबार पढ़ते हैं और सब जगह की खबर रखते हैं। **...(व्यवधान)...**

महोदय, आज जयपुर के हादसे, मुम्बई के हादसे, दिल्ली के हादसे, हैदराबाद, जम्मू-कश्मीर, गुजरात, छत्तीसगढ़, मणिपुर, नॉर्थ-ईस्ट में जो हालात पैदा हुए हैं, क्या वे कभी इस देश में थे? जब तक कांग्रेस का राज था, आतंकवाद या आंतरिक असुरक्षा का यह खतरा, जो आम आदमी को हो गया है, क्या वह था कभी? यह नहीं था। **...(व्यवधान)...** सर, यह किसकी देन है? यहा कहां से आया, यह कौन लेकर आया **...(व्यवधान)...** सर, सत्ता की चाह में **...(व्यवधान)...**

5.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Please, Prabhaji, please. ...*(Interruptions)*... Mrs. Prabha Thakur please. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please speak on the subject ...*(Interruptions)*... Please do not bring in politics. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please speak on the subject.

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : सर, मैं सब्जेक्ट पर ही बोल रही हूं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Please speak on this particular subject. ...*(Interruptions)*...

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : क्या मैं उनके सब्जेक्ट पर बोल रही हूं, पहले वे जो चाहें, उनके सब्जेक्ट पर बोलूं? आप बता दीजिए कि मैं कौन से सब्जेक्ट पर बोलूं? आप मुझे जो एजेंडा देंगे, मैं उस एजेंडा पर तो नहीं बोल सकती हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : आप बोलिए।

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : यहां पर ईमानदारी से बोलना है न सर।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : आप जल्दी बोलिए।

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : सर, मैं यह कहना चाह रही हूं कि यह नहीं चलेगा कि कथनी और करनी में फर्क हो कि चोर से तो कहो चोरी करो और साहूकार से कहो कि जागते रहो। यह नहीं चलेगा और यह जनता ने दिखा दिया है। इसलिए अब आप संभल जाइए, सब मिल कर एक हो जाइए। कहीं-न-कहीं तो हम राजनीति से ऊपर उठें। राजनीति से ऊपर उठ कर देश हित में एक हों। मैं आपसे यही कहूंगी कि जिस तरह से ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप कुछ सीखिए, जिस तरह सोनिया जी ने कभी एक शब्द विरोधियों के लिए नहीं बोला। राजीव गांधी जी चले गए, लेकिन क्या किसी कौम के लिए उनके मुंह से एक खराब शब्द भी निकला? कभी राहुल गांधी जी ने कोई बदले या हिंसा की बात की? उन्होंने युवाओं का आह्वान किया कि देश के नवनिर्माण में योगदान दो। उन्होंने कहा कि एकजुट होकर काम करो। कभी प्रधान मंत्री मनमोहन सिंह जी ने इस तरह की बात नहीं की। वे निर्माण की बात करते हैं, विकास की बात करते हैं, एकता की बात करते हैं। इसको हमारे देश के नौजवानों ने सराहा है। कोई भी मां नहीं चाहती कि किसी मां की कोख उजड़े, चाहे वह किसी जाति, धर्म या सम्प्रदाय की हो। कोई बहन नहीं चाहती कि किसी बहन का सुहाग उजड़े, चाहे वह किसी जाति, धर्म या सम्प्रदाय की हो। मैं आपको बड़े अभिमान से यह बात कहना चाहती हूं कि देश में आज भी जो शांति और सुरक्षा है, तो वह हमारी माताओं और बहनों के कारण है। आप याद रखिए कि वे 50 फीसदी हैं। इसलिए कभी भी आतंकवाद को उभार कर कोई अपने मंसूबों को कामयाब करना चाहे, तो वे मंसूबे कामयाब नहीं हो सकेंगे। इन आतंकवादियों को, जो पाकिस्तान से या किसी देश से, जहां से यह आतंकवाद प्रायोजित हो रहा है, इसके लिए यहां से कौन हवा दे रहा है और बाहर से कौन धन दे रहा है? इतने हथियार, इतना धन, इतने संसाधन कहां से मिल रहे हैं, कैसे मिल रहे हैं? मैं माननीय गृह मंत्री जी से भी कहूंगी कि कृपया इस बारे में सम्बन्धित अधिकारियों को आप सख्त निर्देश दें कि उनके होते हुए कैसे इतना धन और इतने हथियार उन लोगों तक पहुंच पाते हैं? उन पर रोक लगानी चाहिए, ताकि जो बेगुनाह और बेकसूर लोग हैं, वे इस तरह से मारे न जाएं। इस बारे में सरकार को खास ध्यान देने की जरूरत है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : प्रभा जी, प्लीज़ कन्क्लूड कीजिए।

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : सर, एक बात मैं और कहना चाहूंगी और साथ ही यह भी चाहूंगी कि इस घटना से सभी लोग सीखें। पूरे देश की आंखें उस समय भर आई थीं, जब प्रियंका गांधी जेल में जा कर उस लड़की के साथ बैठ करके रोईं, जिसने उनके पिता की हत्या की थी, लेकिन बाहर आ कर उन्होंने एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा। इससे भी लोग नहीं सीखते कि आतंकवादियों का दिल कैसे जीता जा सकता है और कैसे उनका मुकाबला किया जा सकता है।

सर, अगर हम इन चीजों से भी नहीं सीखेंगे, तो मैं यह कहना चाहूंगी कि यह तो एक पूरा जहाज है और अगर जहाज में कोई छेद करेगा, तो छेद करने वाला भी डूबने से नहीं बचेगा। जब पूरा जहाज डूबेगा तो उसे भी तो डूबना पड़ेगा। हमारा देश भी एक जहाज है, एक बहुत बड़ा जहाज है, जिसमें सभी जाति, धर्म एवं सम्प्रदाय के लोग सम्मान से रहते हैं। भगवान करे कि वे उसी प्रेम और सद्भावना से बने रहें। हमारे महात्मा गांधी जी, इन्दिरा जी और राजीव जी का बलिदान व्यर्थ नहीं जाना चाहिए। हमारा देश एक रहे और अखंड रहे। हर कीमत पर सरकार को आतंकवाद से लड़ कर मुक्ति लेनी ही चाहिए, फिर उसके लिए चाहे उसे कोई भी विधेयक क्यों न लाना पड़े या कोई भी कानून क्यों न बनाना पड़े। किसी को भी यह इजाजत नहीं होनी चाहिए कि वह धर्म, जाति, सम्प्रदाय भाषा या प्रांत के नाम पर राजनीति करे। राजनीति करने की इजाजत किसी को भी नहीं होनी चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : प्लीज़, अब कन्क्लूड कीजिए।

डा. प्रभा ठाकुर : अंत में एक कविता की पंक्ति बोल कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगी-

अब तो मजहब कोई ऐसा भी चलाया जाए।

कि जिसमें इन्सान को बस इन्सान बनाया जाए॥

धन्यवाद।

श्री बिश्वजीत दैमारी (असम) : थैंक्यू सर। आज यहां पर एक बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर बात हो रही है। इंटरनल सेक्योरिटी थ्रेट, जिस पर आज यहां बात हो रही है, यह बहुत ही गंभीर मामला है। इस विषय पर मैं भी कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। इस सदन में ऑलरेडी कुछ सदस्य इस बात को बोल चुके हैं कि आज जो समस्या हमारे सामने है, इसका एक रीजन यह भी है कि हमारे देश में अभी भी काफी स्थान ऐसे हैं, जो डेवलप नहीं हो पाए हैं। जहां पर आदिवासी जनजातियां रहती हैं, वहां आज भी गरीबी है, इस बात से मैं भी सहमत हूं क्योंकि मैं खुद ही एक आदिवासी जनजाति से हूं।

अजा सदस्यों ने यहां असम एवं नॉर्थ ईस्ट के बारे में अपने विचार व्यक्त किए और उन्हीं को देख कर मैं भी अपनी बात कह रहा हूं। हमारे असम के बोडोलैंड में जिस तरह से आज insurgency की प्रॉब्लम हुई है, इसका कारण वहां के लोगों की आर्थिक अवस्था है और यह समस्या वहां के उन्नयन के साथ जुड़ी हुई है। इसी कारण वहां पर इस तरह की सिचुएशन का जन्म हुआ था, जो बढ़ते-बढ़ते आज आतंकवाद तक पहुंच गई है। टेररिस्ट्स को दबाने या किसी insurgency group को संभालने के लिए सरकार की तरफ से केवल बातें करने से ही यह मामला हल नहीं होगा, इसका जन्म क्यों हुआ, हमें इसे भी देखना होगा। इसके बारे में सोचना बहुत जरूरी है कि किस काम को करने से हम इसे रोक पाएंगे। नॉर्थ-ईस्ट में उग्रवाद का जन्म क्यों हुआ, इसके बारे में मैं एक छोटी सी कहानी बताना चाहता हूं। आज से 42 साल पहले गोहाटी में एक ट्राइबल होस्टल की डिमांड की गई थी कि गांव से आकर पढ़ने वाले छात्रों के लिए गोहाटी में एक सुविधा हो, लेकिन 1986 तक भी सरकार ने इसको पूरा नहीं किया। इसके बाद रेडियो एवं टीवी सैंटर्स में बोडो भाषा के प्रोग्राम रखने के लिए अनुरोध किया, लेकिन उसे भी पूरा नहीं किया

गया। यहां तक आते-आते अंत में एक separate State और भारत से अलग होने के लिए आज NDFB डिमांड कर रहा है और negotiation भी कर रहा है। उसने इतना violence किया है कि उसके बारे में यहां पर बात करने की और कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। इसी तरह की समस्याओं से आज NDFB का जन्म हुआ है।

इसी तरह से ULFA का भी जन्म हुआ है। कोई बात नहीं थी कि असम से यहां ला कर तो तेल रिफाइन करते हैं, उसका काम असम में ही हो; चाय की जो नीलामी की जाती है, चाय के जो headquarters हैं, उनको असम में ही रखा जाए; ताकि वहां पर लोगों को employment की काफी सुविधा हो। इसी तरह की छोटी-छोटी बातें थीं, लेकिन इन पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया, और ULFA का जन्म हो गया। आज ULFA का भारत पर क्या असर पड़ रहा है, यह सब को पता है। इसी तरह की situation है; इन समस्याओं के साथ असम के हम जितने लोग हैं, सब जुड़े हुए हैं। Extremists को, जिनकी आज यहां बहुत सारे लोग बात कर रहे हैं, शायद नहीं देखा है। गांव में तो हम लोगों को एक साथ सोना भी पड़ता है। वहां extremists आते हैं, खाना बनाने देते हैं और एक साथ घर में रहते भी हैं। वहां कोई और उपाय नहीं है, ऐसी हालत है। इस तरह की स्थिति देख कर मैं आया हूं। मेरे घर के सामने NDFB वालों का घर है, मेरे घर के सामने ULFA के लोगों का भी घर है। हमारे गांव में भी कुछ लोग उग्रपंथी दल में हैं। Bodo Liberation Tigers के दिनों में मुझे असम में रह कर सरकार और BLT के बीच में काम करने का मौका मिला था जिसको आज समझौता में भी लाया जा सका। इसके कारण बोडोलैंड में बहुत शांति भी आई थी, लेकिन उस पर भी मुझे अभी शक है। BLT ने Ministry of Home Affairs और असम गवर्नमेंट के साथ जो accord किया था, उसमें आठ नंबर पर जो clause है, इसमें भारत सरकार की तरफ से commitment किया गया था कि कार्बिआंगलांग और N.C. Hills 6th Schedule में रहने वाली बोडो जनजातियों को वहां पर जनजाति का दर्जा दिया जाएगा, लेकिन आज तक इसको implement नहीं किया गया। Bodo Liberation Tigers के जितने भी cases थे, उनको withdraw करने की भी बात थी, लेकिन आज तक ये cases withdraw नहीं हो पाए। इसमें आज तक वारंट जा रहा है, किसी को पकड़ने के लिए पुलिस जा रही है। इसी तरह आप BLT के लोग भी accord करने के बाद, arms surrender करने के बाद, फिर से एकजुट हो कर रहने लगे हैं। उन लोगों से जो accord किया गया था, इसके implementation के लिए और कार्बिआंगलांग के बोडो लोगों को जनजाति का दर्जा दिलाने के लिए अब फिर से वे लोग कभी धरना तो कभी असम बंद जैसे आंदोलन शुरू कर रहे हैं। अगर इसे अच्छी तरह से implement नहीं करेंगे तो शायद फिर इस विषय के ऊपर ही ...**(समय की घंटी)**... विचार करके कुछ लोग फिर से movement करने लग जाएंगे। इस situation की चिंता करनी चाहिए।

महोदय, जो police force है, उसे strengthen करना चाहिए। सब जानते हैं कि इस देश में छोटी-मोटी चोरी या डकैती को लेकर हम लोगों ने जिस दिन यह पुलिस बनाई थी, पुलिस के नियम-कानून बनाये थे और इसकी ट्रेनिंग वगैरह की व्यवस्था की थी, आज तक सब वही है। उनके पास आज भी वही थ्री नॉट थ्री राइफल है, वही चमड़े के जूते हैं, और वही पैंट-शर्ट हैं। आज भी उनका वही पुराना स्टाइल है। जबकि जो extremists होते हैं, उनके पास बहुत ही sophisticated arms होते हैं, उनकी dress भी बहुत ही अच्छी होती है, उनके पास track suit होता है और light shoes होते हैं। लेकिन, हम ये सब अपनी पुलिस को दे नहीं पाए हैं। ऐसी हालत में कैसे हमारी पुलिस उन लोगों का सामना कर पाएगी? आज पुलिस के पास अच्छे vehicles नहीं है, लेकिन जितने भी extremist groups हैं, वे सबसे अच्छे vehicles use कर रहे हैं। जहां भी bomb blast हुआ वहां पर वे लोग अच्छी गाड़ी से ही आते हैं, लेकिन हमारी पुलिस के पास field में काम करने लायक कोई गाड़ी नहीं है। आज ऐसी हालत है। हमें इसे भी ठीक करना पड़ेगा। यह मेरा अनुरोध है। ...**(समय की घंटी)**... अगर इसको ध्यान में रखते हुए हमारा गृह मंत्रालय काम करे, तो internal security की situation में सुधार कर पाएंगे। धन्यवाद।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : धन्यवाद, दैमारी जी। Next, Shri Mangla Kisan. आपके 5 मिनट्स हैं। आप अपनी बात पांच मिनट्स में खत्म कर दीजिएगा।

श्री मंगल किसन (उड़ीसा) : सर, आज हम लोग आजादी के 62 सालों के बाद internal security के बारे में चर्चा कर रहे हैं। विशेष कर के जो भारत वासी, tribal groups, scheduled casts' groups और गरीब ग्रुप्स, जो अच्छा पहने हुए किसी ऑफिसर को या आम जनता को देखने से भी डरते थे, वे आज क्यों लड़ने के लिए निकले हैं और देश के लिए आज उन लोगों ने प्रॉब्लम्स खड़ी की हैं...। इसके बारे में भारत सरकार को सोचना पड़ेगा। हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान के 5th Schedule के अंदर देश के जितने भी areas या भूखंड आते हैं, वहां Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes और विशेषकर गरीब इंसान रहते हैं। वे लोग 60 सालों तक देश के कानून को और देश की सरकार को मान कर चले, लेकिन आज वे क्यों नहीं मानते हैं? इसलिए कि भारत सरकार, Government machinery और उस area के जितनी companies हैं, उनके द्वारा poor people को 62 सालों तक exploit किया गया, उनको लूटा गया। इसके चलते जो पहले अच्छे आदमी को देख कर डरते थे, जो अच्छा सूट-पैंट पहन कर आते थे, उनके गांव में जाने से डरते थे, आज वे सरकार और Government machinery के साथ लड़ने के लिए तैयार हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि since 1962, after Independence, the Government of India has done nothing for them. For whatever the Government of India has done for them, that is not sufficient for the development of that region of India. That is why people, who used to be afraid of people wearing good dress, have collected courage and are fighting against them.

So, it is the right time for the nation as well as for the Government to bring a good development project for that area and for the resettlement of displaced families. Those who have been displaced since long time by the public sectors and the private sectors should be settled immediately. There should be a programme for the unemployed youths to rehabilitate them properly. Tribal people are very ignorant. They have been threatened by terrorists and they are bound to give them shelter. After giving shelter to terrorists, Police come to their villages and harass them like anything. So, the tribal people, the Scheduled Castes people and the dalit people are being harassed by terrorists as well as by the Government. This is the situation of the Scheduled Area of this country. Sometimes they support them and sometimes they go to police station, if they go to police station, terrorists kill them. If they go to Naxalite group camps, then the Police kill them. This is the situation in Orissa; this is the situation is Jharkhand; this is the situation in Chhattisgarh and this is the situation of all Scheduled Areas of this country. That is why it is the right time, even after 62 years of Independence, for the Government to bring good development project for that region just like in Budelkhand or something else. But till now the Government of India is spending a large amount of money to control the terrorists, but it is giving very little amount of money to have a development of this Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe area of that region. That is why, even after 62 years of Independence, the present Government and this House as well as the think-tank of this country should have to have a complete project plan and action plan to have a development of that region.

Otherwise, simply by force, simply by using the police or the Central Para Military Forces, it cannot be controlled. It is my appeal to the Government of India to prepare a good development programme and plan to curb the naxalite activities in the country, and, save the innocent tribal people of the area. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J. KURIEN): Thank you. Now, Shri Tiruchi Siva. You have five minutes.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to participate in this discussion. Sir, I consider this as my utmost responsibility to participate in this discussion. Sir, it is not that my place is not infected by any of these terrorist activities. I share the grievance of Mr. Baishya, though he is from another State; I share the concerns of Dr. Keshava Rao, and, if any of the colleagues of Mr. Prasanta is affected, I consider it as mine.

The views expressed by all the Members may be different in the outlook but the undercurrent is one and the same. What has to be done? We all agree that terrorism exists not in our country alone; it is across the world. It is a social epidemic. We cannot just sit back and get contended thinking that since it prevails all over the world, we are also a party to it and we have to take it. It is not that, Sir. Have some aspirations. Very safely, I want to go to Kashmir and be on the Dal Lake when the Gulmohar flowers are blossoming, and, I want to sleep in peace.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : You can go there. Honestly. You can go to Kashmir. There is no problem at all. Thousands of people. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: I agree with the Home Minister. I am coming to the point, Sir. Summing up the incidents of what happened, where and all, on my part, I did not tell one thing. I should say that the Amarnath Yatra this year passed off without any unpleasant incident – thanks to the secular mindset of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. So, the places, which were affected earlier by terrorism, and, the people who have learnt through their experiences are recovering and returning to their normal lives as the other parts are also affected.

There are two kinds of terrorism, one is cross-border terrorism, and, the other is internal terrorism. Sir, the cross-border terrorism, I am very confident, can be tackled. How? It can be done by use of sophisticated technologies or much more refined strategies. Our security forces, which are more weaponised, have modernised weapons. Apart from all these things, let me give you an example. When we are much disturbed by Pakistan, the interpretation in the media made us to infer that our Government has stooped to the maximum. It was not right. The Home Minister refuted all these statements. In one of his replies which he gave after 26/11 Mumbai attacks, he very categorically said, stop it there. We really admired the way he retorted, stop it there, and said, "if Pakistan repeats it once again in the same manner, they should be ready to take it back in the severest manner from the Indian side".

So, Sir, I am very confident that as far as external aggression and the cross-border terrorism are concerned, our Government has got the will – as other Members said – the political will, and, all the strategies, and, with our soldiers, on whom we rely, we can tackle it. What is going on internally? Day before yesterday, it was LeT, yesterday it was ULFA; today, it is Maoists, and, about tomorrow, we do not know. This is not the time to point the finger at one person, and, say, you are responsible and all that. Everyone is trying to shoulder the burden on the side of the Government. It is not right, Sir. The Government is making all the efforts. The coordination of people should be there. As a Member of Parliament, I have some responsibility. All those people who are outside, a policeman, a teacher, a journalist, or, whoever he or she may be, have a responsibility.

A teacher must teach his students not to take a wrong path. Sir, I should say here that all those people who have been attracted towards or who are indulged in terrorist activities, internally they are not attracted towards an ideology, I think. As many other Members have pointed out, my sister, Prabha Thakur, very emotionally told what are the reasons for that. Some years ago – our Home Minister, who has been in this Parliament for decades and who has been the Minister for a long time, is well aware of that – a study group, which went into the details or the reasons how this terrorism is coming up, came out with nothing but unemployed youth or some poor people who are not able to fulfil their basic needs are selling themselves to the terrorists to relieve their families. Government is giving packages. Government is allocating money. Government is running various schemes. But I request the Home Minister that the package which is given for these people should reach where it should reach. Sir, I should say one thing. As my brother Malaisamy quoted Thiruvalluvar here, our founder leader Anna used to say which means, simply the idle mind is the workshop of the Satan. So, if ability in our youth is extracted and utilised in the right manner and if poverty is eradicated at the grassroot level – Sir, to put out the fire, pouring water on it is not the only method; pulling out the firewood is another method.

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, I should say here, we give not only employment to the youth, but as long as they wait till they get an employment opportunity, the Government of Tamil Nadu under our leader also gives Rs. 150 as financial assistance to the students who have passed 10th standard, Rs. 200 to those who have passed +2 and Rs. 300 to a graduate. So, till they get a job, they won't go astray. They won't be distracted by other forces. They won't feel let down because of the lack of money. The Government is helping. So, our State sets an example. ...**(Time-bell rings)**... I would like to quote this as an example or model which could be followed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. P. J.KURIEN): Okay. Please.

SHRI TIRUCHI SIVA: Sir, with my fullest feelings within me, I share the concern of all the people. We trust the abilities of the Home Minister and of this Government. I expect that soon we will

be relieved of these terrorist activities; people who have been affected by this in other parts of the country will soon be relieved and we will have a peaceful life. Thank you very much, Sir.

(MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair)

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS (Assam): Sir, I want to make just one point. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, no. ...*(Interruptions)*... Listen.

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS: Sir, I will take just one minute. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must decide within your party. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि : सर, आतंकवाद के कारण इनके पैर कट गए हैं ...**(व्यवधान)**...

Every time you talk this. ...*(Interruptions)*... One minute ...*(Interruptions)*... One minute. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Sir, he is the extreme sufferer of the extremists. ...*(Interruptions)*... He lost his legs ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Baishya, you are the two Members ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA: Sir, he is the victim of the extremists. He lost his two legs. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is the third time you are pleading on the same issue. We know about it. We sympathise about it. But it does not mean that you will be given time every time. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS: What I want to say in this matter is, so far as internal security of N.E. region is concerned, implementation of Assam Accord is an important issue. Sir, the Minister of Home Affairs, in their internal security papers, has said, "Certain clauses of Accord are continuous in nature. It means safeguard for Assamese people, measures for economic development of Assam, measures for identification of foreigners, prevention of infiltration, etc., are, therefore, being continuously monitored". Sir, what about the sealing of the border? Sir, sealing of the border is one major point of the Assam Accord. It was signed by our late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The border is still open. Every illegal activity is going on through the border. Cattle smuggling is there, and arms smuggling is going on there. Infiltration is there which has caused a lot of problem to the people there. What has happened in Assam is that the action taken by the Government is not sufficient. It is a fact that terrorism has increased considerably in the State. The increase in terrorist activities is due to the failure on the part of security agencies. It shows they did not do their homework and failed in providing adequate inputs.

Sir, intensified counter-insurgency operations have resulted in a large number of arrests, surrender, and killings of militants. However, in overall terms, the situation continues to be a matter of concern. The Government has failed to restructure security agencies. The police should improve its image. The credibility of the police force should be increased.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Okay, Mr. Deepak Das.

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS: Sir, there is a frequent allegation of politicisation of police. The Supreme Court's directive on police reforms is yet to be followed.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is over.

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS: One minute, Sir. There are a number ceasefire camps with groups like the ULFA, NDFB, DHD. The Government has failed to come forward for direct talks with the main militant groups like the ULFA and the NDFB. There are also incidents of running away of members from ceasefire camps. It is also a failure on the part of the Government in not strengthening the Ceasefire Monitoring Mechanism. The problem of the militant groups of the North-East cannot be solved by killing. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can raise it some other time.

SHRI KUMAR DEEPAK DAS: One minute, Sir. Emphasis should be given on the process of peace talks between the Centre and the militant groups for which insurgency and counter-insurgency must be stopped immediately from both the sides. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, I am grateful to the 15 hon. Members who participated in this important debate on the internal security situation. In the last year, I have had many opportunities to make statements in this House and to answer questions. All countries face threats to their security. Times have changed. Hon. Member, Mr. Rama Jois, said that there was a time when Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru would jump out of his car and mingle with the people. I have seen Prime Minister Nehru drive in an open car, sitting on the top of the rear seat and receiving flowers and throwing flowers. But no Prime Minister in the world today, no President in the world today can afford to travel in that manner, because of the rise of a large number of militant terrorist groups. We must, therefore, approach the matter in a hard-headed manner, not hard-hearted manner, I believe, in the last year, our Government UPA-I and now UPA-II have adopted very practical, realistic set of policies to deal with the various threats to India's internal security.

Let me begin with Jammu and Kashmir and the North East. In all the reports that appear in the Media what is lost is that the incidents of violence in Jammu and Kashmir is the lowest in calendar 2009. The number of civilians killed is the lowest. The number of security forces personnel killed is the

lowest. And we have been able to neutralise not only infiltrating cadres but also a large number of commanders of these infiltrators.

In fact, if one analyses the names and the successes that we have achieved, the life of a commander of an infiltrating group is only about six to twelve months. Either he is neutralised on the border or he is neutralised within six months. I, therefore, announced that since militancy has come down sharply in Jammu & Kashmir, I will take what appears to be a risky step of withdrawing a significant number of battalions from Jammu & Kashmir. And we have withdrawn a significant number of battalions from Jammu & Kashmir. I am not willing to share the numbers here; that is not necessary. We are now transferring law and order duties more and more to the J&K Police, and that itself has created the right climate in Jammu & Kashmir. We now see that Friday prayers go on smoothly; there is no stone-throwing. In the last three or four months, there were hardly any allegations after the first Shopian incident. Sir, 3,92,000 *yatris* completed the Amarnath *yatra* this year, a shortened *yatra* because of the snow, without a single incident! 3,92,000 *yatris*! Several lakhs have visited Vaishno Devi and continue to visit Vaishno Devi. There has been no incident. Eid was celebrated without any incident. *Gurupurab* was celebrated. Ten thousand Sikhs came on the streets. There was no incident. But our problems in Jammu & Kashmir are not over. There is infiltration every day; there is an attempt to infiltrate every day; we cannot lower our vigil. And that is why, sometimes, I have to speak in very strong language, something which Mr. Siva quoted.

In the North-East, all but three States are almost entirely peaceful. There are hardly any incidents in Mizoram or Tripura, and I compliment both Governments. In Nagaland, there is some kind of an uneasy truce because according to our reports, both factions of the NSCN, goaded by civil society, and Christian organisations, are being persuaded to come to the table. Therefore, there is an uneasy truce as a result of which killings have stopped. Internecine quarrels have come down. Arunachal Pradesh is largely peaceful. There were a couple of incidents during the elections; otherwise, Arunachal Pradesh is peaceful. Sikkim, of course, is not only peaceful but a fast growing State. Our problems are in Assam and Manipur. Both are ruled by the Congress Party; I am not denying that. But the origins, of the problems in Assam and Manipur go far into the past. I will attempt to explain the origin, I am not going into all that.

In Assam, we have had considerable success in bringing several groups to the table. We have appointed an interlocutor now. He is holding talks with four groups. The leadership of DHT(J) has been virtually neutralised or has been arrested. They have come forward for talks. The NDFB factions are coming forward for talks. There are smaller groups which are coming forward for talks. The real threat came from the ULFA. But the ULFA leadership is in disarray today. I think in the next few days

it is quite likely that the ULFA leadership will make a political statement, and if that political statement offers talks with India, I wish to share with this House that our Government is prepared to talk with the ULFA provided they formally abjure violence and give up any demand for sovereignty. Let us hope that there will be a positive development in the next few days.

Sir, Manipur is a cause for worry. I had a long discussion with the Governor and the Chief Minister and I had impressed upon them that it is the duty of the Government to maintain law and order, to stop any excesses by the police force, to remove the perception among the people that the police is against the people and to ensure that all schools and colleges are reopened and function. I think the Chief Minister has realised the gravity of the situation and he is taking a few steps. Many schools and colleges have reopened. For example, the Kendriya Vidyalayas and the Navodaya Vidyalayas are functioning. There is also some information that the Civil Society Groups have persuaded the protestors to give up the attempt to close down schools and colleges. So, the Civil Society Groups are also playing their part. But Manipur remains a cause for worry, and I think that I would have to pay greater attention to Manipur in the next few weeks and months, and I intend to pay greater attention to Manipur.

Now I turn to cross-border terrorism. When we use 'terrorism', under the law even what a Naxalite has indulged is terrorism. But in order to understand the problems we use terrorism to describe what now is called *jihadi* terrorism or Hindu militancy. Both are terrorism. Religion-inspired violence is terrorism. For Naxalism we use the phrase "Left-wing extremism" and for the North-East we use the phrase "insurgency". It is simply to understand the difference between the groups and the activities. Anyone who indulges in violence falls foul of the law and the law calls all of them acts of terror. But simply to clarify our own mind, when we talk about terrorism we are talking about *jihadi* terrorism and Hindu militants-inspired terrorism. Let me make the Government's position very clear. We have zero tolerance for this kind of terrorism, be it inspired by *jihadi* militants or be it inspired by Hindu militants. There is zero tolerance for this type of terrorism.

Sir, the epicentre of terror in the world today is in the junction of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Since we are part of this neighbourhood, part of this sub-continent, we are the victims of such terror. Twenty- six/eleven rudely shook the nation. In the last year, we have taken a number of steps and I have presented a report every month. My regret is that no one reads the report. But there is some satisfaction that there has been no terror attack in this country in the last one year and two days. There has been no communal riot in this country in the last one year and two days. I think these are important. Part of it is due to what we have done. Revamped intelligence set up of this country, improved intelligence gathering and intelligence sharing on a real time basis, built capacity, built competence and above all built confidence in our security forces that they can foil terror attacks. There have been more than a dozen attempted terror attacks which have been foiled in the last 12 months. Likewise, there have been attempts by Hindu militants too. They have also resorted to

terror. A case is under investigation in Goa. When that case is investigated, it will reveal the spread of that mindset amongst certain sections of Hindu militants, ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Have you said Islamic terrorism also? ...*(Interruptions)*... Did you say Islamic terrorism? ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI P.CHIDAMBARAM: I am saying jehadi. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि : अपने आप को सेक्युलर माना है या नहीं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री बलबीर पुंज : धार्मिक टेरेरिज्म मत कहो। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर (महाराष्ट्र) : आप ऐसा मत कहिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप क्रिश्चियन टेरेरिज्म नहीं कह रहे हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप यह क्यों कह रहे हैं? ...**(व्यवधान)**... आप ऐसा क्यों बोल रहे हैं? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am using a phrase. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ: Why are you brining religion into it?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I said jehadi. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am not yielding. I am standing my ground. I am on my feet.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : उपसभापति महोदय, हमें आपका संरक्षण चाहिए। मुद्दा यह है कि क्या मंत्री महोदय टेरेरिज्म के इश्यु को रिलीजन का रंग दे सकते हैं? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Because terrorism is inspired by religion.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : एक मिनट, एक मिनट। ...**(व्यवधान)**... उपसभापति महोदय, अगर कोई क्रिश्चयन टेरेरिस्ट है, तो क्या उसको क्रिश्चयन टेरेरिज्म कहेंगे, कोई मुसलमान है, तो क्या उसको इस्लामिक टेरेरिज्म कहेंगे? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I cannot modify my argument to please the BJP. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : अगर कोई हिन्दू टेरेरिस्ट है, तो क्या उसे हिन्दू टेरेरिज्म कहेंगे? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I cannot modify my argument to please the BJP. My argument is, terrorism in the world is inspired by religious groups. It could be an Islamic religious group or a Hindu religious group. They both are wrong.

श्री प्रकाश जावडेकर : आप कैसी बात कर रहे हैं? ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रुद्रनारायण पाणि : उड़ीसा के कंदमाल में स्वामी जी को मारा गया। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will come to Kandhamal. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : एक मिनट, एक मिनट। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री उपसभापति : आप बैठ जाइए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, he is a senior Minister.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not yielding.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: You have a long experience in the Home Ministry. You are aware. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I know what I am talking.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: You are aware that when the question of Sikh terrorism started, at that time, it was raised in the country that why you blame the entire Sikh religion in the name of terrorism. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: We are not blaming the Sikh community. We are only saying. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: You are blaming the entire Hindu community.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am not.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: You are. ...*(Interruptions)*....

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I will clarify it. ...*(Interruptions)*... Pease sit down. I will answer that. ...*(Interruptions)*...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will answer this.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: He is a Hindu. I am not a Hindu.

MR. DPEUTY CHAIRMAN: You have made your point.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I am a Sikh. I am saying that the Goa bomb blast by a sect, who does not believe in the philosophy of Shivite or Sanatani. ...*(Interruptions)*... They are terrorists.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He will clarify that.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, blaming a religious group is not fair. That is not fair.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Let me make it clear. No one is blaming and no one should blame the entire Muslim community for acts of terror that are committed in the name of Islam; no one should blame and no one can blame the Hindu community for acts of terror that are committed by certain people in the name of a religion. No one can blame the Sikh community for the acts of terror that were committed by a few misguided youth at that time. That is not the point. The point is, you understand the argument. Terrorism today world over is inspired by religious fanatics. That is the point. It could be a religious fanatic belonging to one religion. ...*(Interruptions)*... Listen to me. Please understand the argument. Don't divert the argument. It is a serious subject. I live with it 24 hours a day. I start my day looking at the reports. It is inspired by religious fanatics. That is all I am

trying to say. It is religious fanatics of one kind or another kind or the third kind. In order to understand the argument, we are using certain words. It is nobody's intention to blame any community. So, please be satisfied; I am trying to say that religion-inspired fanaticism is a source of terror. Therefore, it is important that all of us, at least, in this House, not only swear by secularism, but also do everything possible to strengthen the secular fabric of this country. That is the point. That is the argument.

Now, as far as Pakistan is concerned, we have built the capacity, as I said. We have built competence. We have, above all, built the confidence of our security forces. But there is much to be done. I say this with a certain sense of responsibility that we are as vulnerable today as we were a few months ago because the adversary – I do not wish to use the word 'enemy' – has not changed its attitude. The adversary has not changed its approach towards India. The LeT and other military organisations continue to target India, and, recently, it appears that these groups are now coordinating their actions. At least, one of these groups may have forged some ties with the Al Qaeda. Therefore, we remain as vulnerable, and we cannot afford to lower our guard.

We must be vigilant, and we must ask all States to remain vigilant. Now, much has been done in the last year in terms of recruiting to the Police Forces, setting up new police stations, improving coastal security, procuring new equipments and weapons, better training, and above all, a well networked intelligence system. I do not want to go into the details of what we have done. But anyone of you, going back to his/her State, can speak to the Chief Minister, or, preferably, to the D.G.P. He will tell you all that has been done in the last 12 months. But there is much that remains to be done. For example, on the issue of recruitment of constables, on 1.1.2008, there were 2,30,567 vacancies in the constabulary. Now, how can State Governments not recruit policemen and, yet, say that we will maintain law and order? That represents about 12 per cent of the sanctioned strength. That is, for every 100 posts that were sanctioned, only 88 were filled.

Today, I have appealed to the Chief Ministers, and I am working with them to ensure that the entire vacancies are wiped out by 31st March, 2010. We must fill the vacancies in the constabulary. The best intelligence is gathered by the foot soldiers. It is the policemen, who walk the beat, who can gather best intelligence. All other intelligence agencies supplement the intelligence that he can gather. But, let me end with a word of hope. I am confident that our security forces have the capacity to prevent any terror attacks in this country. God forbid, should there be an attempt to attack this country, should there be a terror attack, our response will be swift and decisive.

Now, I turn to the matter that concerns all of us, that is, Naxalism. I say this with regret that, collectively, we failed to assess the character of the Naxalite Movement. For many years, we pretended that it was confined to a few pockets, a few jungles, or, a few forest areas, that it did not concern most of India. The origins of the Movement go back to the Naxalbari. But the two main

groups which, subsequently, merged into the CPI (Maoist), have been strengthening their position in the last 10 years or more, or, in fact, over the last 12 years. In the last 12 years, virtually, every party represented here has been in Government at some time or the other. So, there is no point in finger-pointing or blaming. All of us have to collectively blame for being in a state of denial and ignoring the naxalite menace. From the days after I took over, I said this is the gravest security threat to India. In fact, in the last year, because the security forces are engaging the naxalites, the naxalites have actually expanded their area of activity and intensified their operations. I want this House to understand what is the character of naxalite movement. I will tell you why I am spending a few minutes on this. There are any number of civil society organisations which believe in the cause of naxalites and blame the Government for the violence that you find in seven or eight States. Very distinguished, respectable people are part of the civil society organisations. We have a former Speaker of the Lok Sabha; we have former judges; we have eminent journalists; we have writers. All of them speak in the name of civil society and paint the Government in bad light and seem to say that the naxalite cause and the naxalite methods have a justification. Unfortunately, that is not the truth.

The naxalites have a clear policy. And that policy is set out most recently in a document put out by the Polit Bureau of the Naxalites, the CPI (Maoist) on June 12, 2009, and their position is very clear. "The Parliamentary system is a rotten system. Parliament is a pigsty. We do not believe in the Parliamentary system. We believe in an armed liberation struggle." Now, I ask each one of you present here, each of the political parties present here. Is it not time to take a stand and make a choice? Do we stand by the Parliamentary system or do we stand by an armed liberation struggle? That choice has to be made, Sir, by every individual, every citizen of this country. And what is their method? "Prepare and mobilise the entire party, the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army and the people for carrying out tactical counter offensives and various forms of armed resistance and inflict severe losses to the enemy forces." I have never used the word 'enemy' to describe the naxalites. The naxalites use the word 'enemy' to describe the State and that includes all of us here sitting in this House. "Attacks should be organised with meticulous planning against the State's khaki and olive clad terrorist forces." Our Army is a terrorist force; our paramilitary is a terrorist force; our police is a terrorist force! "SPOs, police informers and other counter-revolutionaries are enemies of the people.

These attacks should be carried out in close coordination with and in support of the armed resistance of the masses. These should be linked to the seizure of political power and establishment of base areas. It is a combined attack by all the three wings of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army and the people, at large, that can ensure the defeat of the enemy's offensive." Civil society organisations say that the naxalite cause is right and the naxalite methods are right. It is time for each

one of us to take a stand. Do we stand by this cause or do we oppose this cause? Do we support these methods or do we oppose these methods? A choice has to be made. No individual, no citizen can avoid making that choice.

Finally, Sir, when I offered to talk to them on only one condition. I said, abjure violence. I did not say, 'lay down arms', because I know they will not lay down arms. And if I ask them to lay down arms before we open talks, talks will never happen. I said abjure violence. Persuaded by the interviewer in an interview, I had said, 'Just say we give up violence. Give me 72 hours to respond to your statement that we give up violence. And I will consult the Prime Minister and others, and the Chief Ministers and respond within 72 hours to a statement by the CPI (Maoist) that they abjure violence.' Answer to that was, 'Abjuring violence is not on our agenda. We believe in armed struggle.' Now, what do you want the Government to do? Tell us. We are not waging a war against the Naxalites or the tribal people. They are our people, they are citizens of India. They have every right to believe in an ideology as long as that ideology is propagated peacefully. They can contest elections, they can win power; if they claim to have 50 per cent of the support of the people, they can win power. They can come and sit in our places. One can take the chair on which the hon. Deputy Chairman is sitting. They can rule this country. But, as long as they indulge in violence, what do you want the Government to do?

Therefore, I called the Chief Ministers in January and then in August; and, we have now together agreed that we will coordinate our efforts and we will ensure that we will restore the civil administration in areas where we have lost control. Unless you restore the civil administration, how can there be development? In the last week alone, four schools have been blown up in Jharkhand. Four school buildings! Why? Because polling stations were going to be located there. Where will the children study now? How long will it take to rebuild those schools? A teacher was beheaded yesterday in West Bengal. Francis Induwar was beheaded two months ago. Everyone beheaded is labelled a police informer! We are not at war with the Naxalites or the tribal people. We only want to restore civil administration. I have said, once the civil administration is restored, we will quickly and rapidly follow it up with developmental measures.

What I am saying is nothing new. My party, the Congress Party, at the AICC Plenary in January, 2006, passed a resolution and I read a part of that resolution: "The Indian National Congress views with concern the growing incidents of Naxalite-associated violence in parts of India. The party urges the UPA Government to give this matter highest priority and believes that this has to be addressed as a serious law and order issue but with underlying socio-economic causes as well. Clarity and firmness in handling the threat of violence does not foreclose the possibility of a dialogue in appropriate situations." I am faithfully following my party's resolution, and, I am sure, other parties also have similar resolutions on the problem.

6.00 P.M.

We will use our security forces only to the extent to re-assert authority over areas where the Government has lost its control. Why did I send our security forces to West Bengal? The West Bengal Government had regrettably lost control over the area, which is now called Lalgarh in West Midnapore district, and consequently into Purulia and Bankura. So, on June 18, we sent forces. We have given 28 companies. They are attempting to re-establish control over the area. Once control is established, then doctors can be sent; teachers can be sent; schools can be established; roads can be built; Panchayat Bhavans can be built; ration shops can be opened. But, without control over the area, what development are we talking about? Even if I spend Rs.7,700 crores, which my colleague said in the morning in Question Hour, where will I spend Rs.7,700 crores? Much of this money will go into the hands of the Naxalites. Therefore, please understand our policy. We will use minimum force only for the purpose of re-asserting control of the administration over the area.

Once we secure control we will follow it rapidly and quickly with development, and, I hope this policy will have the support of every section of this House. Sir, I do not wish to take more time. When I was in the US I asked them, 'why has there not been a 9/11?' Why has there not been another 9/11?' And the Director of National Intelligence said, 'We had luck on our side.' He was not being facetious. The point is, a terrorist or a militant or an insurgent chooses the time and place to attack. I have to be lucky every time to foil him. He has to be lucky only once to create havoc. Therefore, luck plays a great part. In the last twelve months, I think, I have been reasonably lucky. But, at the same time, let me assure you, all States are on the same page. There is no distinction between State and State. Some are little slow. I would like them to go faster. Some are pretty quick but all are on the same page. We will build capacity, we will build competence, we will build confidence in our security forces and I want to end by saying, the people must have faith in the State, that includes Parliament, the Executive and the Military and the Security Forces. We will defend India from any threat to our internal security.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is adjourned to meet tomorrow at 11.00 A.M.

The House then adjourned at two minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock, on Thursday, the 3rd December, 2009.